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HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

spring 1976



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COVER: Two Indian "gold diggers" shake a large sifting basket in apparent harmony with Yankee panners of diverse social classes, a top-hatted Black man, and a venturesome woman dressed in bloomers. However fanciful the crowded panorama of the western bank of the Sacramento River, this detail from a hand-colored Kelloggs & Comstock lithograph illustrates both the irresistibility of gold fever and the ease of social relations in the early months of the gold rush. For the story of Native American participation in the event and an analysis of the prejudices and events which quickly and forcibly excluded them from the scene of activity, turn to the article beginning on page 28. *Lithograph courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Variant copy in the CHS Library.*



California

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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The Politics of California Water: Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927

I. THE POLITICS OF APPROPRIATION

More than gold and oil, railroad and freeway construction, the film and aerospace industries, water distribution has shaped the development of California's cities and countryside. Nowhere is the vital significance of water more obvious than in Los Angeles, which today imports more than 80 per cent of its water supply from sources lying hundreds of miles beyond its legal boundaries. Los Angeles grew in the nineteenth century despite its lack of sewers and schools, a coastal city without a port, its growth fed by booster advertising and its development founded on prospects for the future rather than on actual demand. By the turn of the century, however, the rigid limits of the city's indigenous water supply had already begun to circumscribe the business community's prospects for continued growth and expansion. And so, with money, guns, and a unity of purpose with what they identified as the public interest, the bankers and businessmen of Los Angeles determined to seize the water resources of the Owens Valley 240 miles to the northeast. And, by correcting God's design for their community with the construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, they laid the foundations for the modern metropolis.

Depending upon the popular proclivities of the times, the complex and dramatic story of Los Angeles, the Owens Valley, and the building of the aqueduct has been used variously as a demonstration of the evils of municipal ownership of utilities, as an example of the nastiness of Los Angeles in general and of the *Los Angeles Times* in particular, and, most recently in the widely successful film *Chinatown*, as a setting for an examination of the multiple levels of human corruption.¹ Certainly, the story is rich in the interplay of personality and event, for it boasts a cast of characters ranging from Teddy Roosevelt to the KKK and includes moments of triumph, bitter betrayal, armed conflict, and numerous harrowing escapes from disaster. The popular memory of these

events, however, has been shaped largely by a controversy over questions of municipal corruption. In addition, primary research materials, such as the letters and personal memoirs of the principal actors, are lacking, with the result that formal histories of these events have tended to side either with Los Angeles or the Owens Valley, arguing their cases on one another's authority.²

This study, however, focuses upon the politics of the controversy, including the way in which the aqueduct was promoted to the Los Angeles electorate, and, in the second article of this series, the governmental response to the conflict which ensued. From this perspective, the problem of corruption is transformed to reveal a conflict not between the public and private sectors but between competing public interests.

The initial problem which Los Angeles confronted in its determination to develop a new source of water was that at the end of the nineteenth century the city did not even have control of its existing water resources. Until the twentieth century, water development in California was almost exclusively an activity of private enterprise.³ Private water companies proliferated wherever the rights to an existing streamflow could be secured and the water sold to nearby towns. Confidence in the free enterprise system ran particularly strong in nineteenth-century Los Angeles where private companies provided the full range of utility services upon which the community depended—gas, electricity, communications, and all forms of public transportation. In 1868, the city granted a thirty-year lease on its water supply to the Los Angeles Water Company. In exchange the company developed a distribution system which it operated at considerable profit to itself. Public dissatisfaction with rates and the quality of service, however, increased as the term of the lease drew near.⁴

Amendments to the city charter in 1889 affirmed the city's authority to operate its own water system, and the Republican party platform of 1896 called for municipal ownership on the promise that the city could provide water at ten per cent of the company's charges.⁵ The chairman of the Republican City Central Committee that year was the former superintendent of the private water company, Fred Eaton, a native Angeleno and son of a forty-niner who had helped found Pasadena. In 1898, Eaton was elected mayor on a municipal

Mr. Kahrl, a senior consultant with the California Assembly Office of Research, has explored the problems of California water policy in connection with the development of the *California Tomorrow Plan*, the California Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1972, and as an aide to former Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti.

"Water and politics don't mix."

William Mulholland



*William Mulholland (1855-1935),
self-educated engineer and architect
of the Los Angeles Aqueduct.*

ownership platform from which he attacked his former employer for the fire hazards presented by the company's reliance on small diameter water mains.

After the expiration of the lease in 1898, Los Angeles had to fight in the courts for four years to force the company to withdraw, and the city ultimately paid \$2 million to buy back its own water system. Bonds for this purchase were approved

in August, 1901, and the city assumed control the following February through a seven-member elective Board of Water Commissioners. Progress on the development of the system was delayed another year, however, until, in the elections of February, 1903, the city charter was amended again to prohibit the granting of another lease and to insulate the Board of Water Commissioners from politics by requiring that all positions on the board be appointed by the mayor subject to confirmation by the city council.⁶

Initially, the move for municipal ownership of the city water system was presented simply as a means of securing more efficient service at lower rates. The unspoken related issue of urban expansion, however, possessed a far greater importance for the city's future. In 1868, the city had leased its water rights to private enterprise because the development of an efficient distribution system was believed to be too great a burden for the city treasury to bear. By 1900, the situation had reversed. The costs involved in securing and transporting a new source of water to Los Angeles lay beyond the reach of private capital. The availability of the far greater resources of municipal finance was a necessary first step toward the construction of a new water project.

Henry Huntington, masterbuilder and first among financial giants in the Los Angeles business community, had already recognized these altered conditions when his unsuccessful efforts to fund construction of a harbor at San Pedro forced him to turn to the federal government for assistance. Once the city had organized itself to operate its own water system, Huntington in 1904 lent his support to a water development scheme which Fred Eaton had been attempting to promote ever since he resigned from the Los Angeles Water Company in 1886. Although grand designs abounded in the early 1900's for bringing water to the expanding cities of Southern California, Eaton enjoyed a special advantage in advocating his own plan for Los Angeles because of his experience in the field, his prominence in the community as a former mayor, his leadership in the battle over municipal ownership, and his close personal relationship with the superintendent of the new municipal water system, William Mulholland.

Mulholland in turn owed much of his success to Eaton's friendship. A former merchant seaman and itinerant knife-

sharpener, Mulholland had taken a job digging ditches for the water company upon his arrival in Los Angeles in 1878. Although he lacked any formal training as an engineer, Mulholland rose so rapidly through the ranks of Eaton's staff that when Eaton left the company eight years later to seek public office, Mulholland took over as his successor, a position he retained through the transfer to municipal ownership.⁷ Thus it was to a protégé that Eaton took his plan, and Mulholland, in September, 1904, readily agreed to accompany his mentor on a buckboard journey to the Owens Valley, a slender, ten-by-one-hundred-mile depression between the Sierra Nevada on the west and the White Mountains and Inyo Range on the east in Inyo and Mono counties. There, Eaton claimed, lay a water supply capable of supporting a city ten times the current size of Los Angeles.

The agricultural communities of the Owens Valley at this time were just emerging from the frontier landscape of chaparral, cactus, and sagebrush.⁸ More than 60,000 acres were already under irrigation, and the area's agricultural products of hard grains, apples, corn, and honey were among the finest displayed each year at the state fair.⁹ With the opening of mining camps in southeastern Nevada, the Owens Valley looked forward to the prospect of expanding prosperity as one of the prime agricultural and mining regions of the state.

Los Angeles was not the only public entity to recognize the potential of the valley for water development. Fully a year before Mulholland's first visit, the federal government's newly created National Reclamation Service had entered the valley eager to establish a demonstration model of systematic irrigation. The Reclamation Service's plans called for doubling the total irrigated acreage within the valley, and by the time of Mulholland's visit, the local farmers had already signed over their water storage rights for the new project and agreed to the removal of more than 500,000 acres of the valley from entry for settlement under the Homestead Act.¹⁰

Mulholland's initial problem, then, was one of convincing the federal government to withdraw its interest in favor of the interests of Los Angeles. Fortunately, the Chief of Southwest Operations for the Reclamation Service, J. B. Lippincott, was himself a resident of Los Angeles and a leader with Eaton in the campaign for the successful bond issue with which the city bought back its water supply. On September



Fred Eaton, promoter of the aqueduct as a private development venture and former mayor of Los Angeles, on his ranch near Big Pine in the Owens Valley.

17, 1904, Lippincott advised the Department of Interior of Los Angeles' interest in the Owens Valley, and in a meeting with city representatives in November, Lippincott recommended to his immediate superior, F. H. Newell, Chief Engineer for the Reclamation Service, that Los Angeles be provided with all of the maps and technical studies the service had prepared on the valley. In February, 1905, Lippincott and Newell worked out a plan for Los Angeles to reimburse the service for its work, and Lippincott privately arranged to provide Mulholland with a detailed report on the available water supply in Southern California. Thus, in the months which followed—and unbeknownst to the Owens Valley ranchers—the efforts of the federal engineers gradually shifted from the development of an irrigation project for agricultural development of the Owens Valley to the design of an aqueduct for Los Angeles.¹¹

Eaton himself presented Mulholland with a more delicate problem, for Eaton's earlier advocacy of municipal ownership of the city water system had been tied to his own scheme for private exploitation of the Owens Valley water. Realizing that the Los Angeles Water Company lacked both the means and the desire to undertake a project requiring capital of such magnitude, he had joined Huntington and other members of the business community in recognizing municipalization as a necessary first step toward the development of a new water source for the city. Municipalization in Eaton's view, however, served only to open a source of capital for the construction of the mammoth project and to guarantee a market for the private enterprise Eaton had been promoting for years. Eaton intended that the water itself should remain in private hands and be made available to Los Angeles in an initial lot of 15,000 miner's inches at an annual rate of \$100 an inch.¹² And, while Mulholland returned to the city to meet with the members of the water board after his first visit to the valley in September 1904, Eaton raced East to consult with Dillon and Hubbard, bond attorneys in New York, in yet another fruitless attempt to form a private consortium for the purchase of water rights in the Owens Valley.¹³

Mulholland, however, believed in a more radical view of public ownership of water, and he regarded as folly an arrangement which would render the city's water supply and the operations of his agency captive to the interests of private owners and the rates they might demand. Accordingly, he

skillfully maneuvered to use the Reclamation Service to resolve this conflict with Eaton. Rather than pressing his case with Eaton directly, Mulholland deployed Lippincott of the Reclamation Service to confront Eaton with the essential condition that the Reclamation Service would not withdraw its interest in the Owens Valley unless the Los Angeles project were "public owned from one end to the other."¹⁴ In return Mulholland sweetened the bitterness of defeat for his old friend and mentor with a very favorable deal on the key property in Long Valley at the headwaters of the Owens River on which Eaton held an option.

Under the terms of this agreement, finalized in May, 1905, Los Angeles agreed to pay Eaton \$450,000 for the water rights and an easement allowing the eventual construction of a small reservoir on the 12,000-acre ranch Eaton had purchased for \$500,000. If Los Angeles failed to exercise its option by the end of that year, the price would go up to \$475,000, and if for any reason the project were not built, all the land would revert to Eaton. Eaton retained control of the rest of the property, more than 10,000 acres, together with 5000 head of cattle valued at \$7-10 a head. Eaton would thus be paid the entire purchase price of the property at Long Valley, 90-95 per cent in cash and the balance in livestock, while still retaining control of more than 80 per cent of the land. In addition, it was recognized that as the ranchers downstream were forced out of business by the project, they would have no choice but to sell their cattle at reduced prices to Eaton who would be the sole surviving rancher in the valley.¹⁵

For the time being, Eaton seemed to be as happy dreaming about an eventual cattle empire as he had been about a possible water empire, and he promptly set about acquiring options on the downstream water rights for transfer to the city of Los Angeles, as he and Mulholland had agreed. Using the Reclamation Service maps provided by Lippincott and outfitting himself with credentials which appeared to identify him as an agent of the federal government, Eaton encountered little resistance from the unsuspecting farmers who thought they were aiding reclamation for the valley rather than giving up their water to Los Angeles.¹⁶

All of these negotiations, purchases, and plans were carried out in strictest secrecy due to the fears of Los Angeles officials that publicity about the project would escalate prices

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1905.

TITANIC PROJECT TO GIVE CITY A RIVER.

Thirty Thousand Inches of Water to be Brought to Los Angeles.

Options Secured on Forty Miles of River Frontage in Inyo County—Magnificent Stream to be Conveyed Down to the Southland in Conduit Two Hundred and Forty Miles Long—Stipendous Deal Closed.

INDEPENDENCE (Cal.) July 28.—[Exclusive Dispatch.] Agents representing Los Angeles city have secured options on about forty miles of frontage on the Owens River north of Owens Lake. Fred Eaton, ex-Mayor of Los Angeles, and the superintendent of the Los Angeles water works were in the valley in an automobile the early part of this week. Two days ago they closed the last outstanding options. The price paid for many of the ranches is three or four times what the owners ever expected to sell them for. Everybody in the valley has money, and everyone is happy.

Three months ago Eaton bought the holdings of the Riskey Cattle Company, comprising about 30,000 acres of water-bearing land. It was then thought that Eaton was going into the stock-raising business here, but it has since been learned that he was securing options for Los Angeles city. Eaton has made every option solid and secured all the land the city wanted. The deal is riveted.

THE cable that has held the San Fernando Valley ransom for ten centuries to the arid desert is about to be severed by the magnificent modern engineering skill. Back to the boundaries of the Los Angeles River will be turned the flow of a thousand mountain streams. The water rights to the city of Los Angeles are now secured. The city holds the water rights to the Owens River Valley, between Lone Pine and the northern side of Owens Lake. In this territory are thousands of acres of government and private land. The city holds the water rights to the Owens River Valley, between Lone Pine and the northern side of Owens Lake. In this territory are thousands of acres of government and private land. The city holds the water rights to the Owens River Valley, between Lone Pine and the northern side of Owens Lake. In this territory are thousands of acres of government and private land.

The desert has yielded up its wealth. The riches of Los Angeles water supply has been secured for the next hundred years. Thirty thousand inches of the purest mountain water to be taken from the bed of the Owens River in Inyo county, right in the heart of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and conveyed for a distance of 160 miles over arid plains and through the heart of mountain ranges to be piped into mighty reservoirs at the headquarters of the Los Angeles water system.

Already the United States government has given its consent, the route has been surveyed and the water-bearing land has been purchased outright by the Los Angeles Water Commissioners. The last options marking the survey of the negotiations have been closed.

By a pledged agreement that will aggregate \$1,000,000, the Los Angeles water department has obtained possession of all the water rights that will give to the city a mighty canal to at least run through the heart of the Los Angeles River.

The enterprise is one of titanic proportions, the reality transcends the rights of location. The engineers say that a few centuries ago Owens River was a tributary to the Los Angeles River that a mighty earthquake threw mountains ranges across the river bed making the stream tributary to a salt lake, and that they have evolved a feasible plan for tunneling these mountains and bringing the water back into the San Fernando Valley.

EXHAUSTIVE SUPPLY
Not only will the water be sufficient for the domestic needs of Los Angeles, even though our population increase to a couple of millions, but there will be a surplus sufficient to supply Pasadena, Orange, Santa Ana, and half a dozen other cities in Southern California.

THE Times announces this morning the most important agreement for the development of Los Angeles in all the city's history—the closing of the preliminary negotiations securing 30,000 inches of water of about ten times our present total supply, enough for a city of 2,000,000 people. In brief the project is to bring this water to Los Angeles from Owens River in Inyo county, a distance of 240 miles, at a cost of about \$24,000,000. Options on the water-bearing lands have been closed by the city's representatives and a series of bond issues will be asked of the voters. This new water supply, immense and untapped, will make Los Angeles forge ahead by leaps and bounds and remove every specter of drought or enormous stream of the purest mountain water pouring into the Los Angeles harbor supplies in the land, she will have water by sea from the San Fernando Valley. There is no will be forthcoming.

...served during a number of trips, his...
...The engineers now all agree on what...
...A series of mighty mountains dis...
...The lake is a great stretch of water...
...The engineers contemplate a cutting...
...All the plans have been approved by...
...By expending about \$10,000 in cash...
...The water commissioners have pledged...
...K. A. Water Eaton has acted as the...
...The former idea in the Owens River...
...A number of the outstanding ranch...
...But the city holds the water rights to...



SUPT. MULHOLLAND.

...the tale of the time when the South...
...the work out because they could...
...A number of the outstanding ranch...
...But the city holds the water rights to...

LAST SPIKE IN DEST. CLOSED.

SUPT. MULHOLLAND BRINGS THE GLAD TIDINGS.

Boys Options are Fixed and Los Angeles Becomes Owner of Thirty Thousand Inches of Purest Snow Water—World Gave All the Credit to Others.

Blushed and howled by the almost intolerable desert wind and sun. Superintendent Mulholland returned yesterday afternoon from a daring nine days automobile trip into the heart of the Owens River country, bearing the glad tidings that the last spike has been driven. The options are all secured, the deal by which Los Angeles city becomes the owner of thirty thousand inches of the purest snow water has been sealed.

In the earliest gratification born of knowledge that the great water question has at last been solved, Mulholland laughed (like a schoolboy). Fred Eaton did it. He has been working on it for thirteen years. He is the greatest engineer. He has made it possible for us to accomplish the greatest scheme of water development ever attempted in this country. What Mulholland did not say was that it was himself that made it possible. Fred Eaton has done the work that he has made five times on foot.



Showing route of 240-mile conduit from Owens River to Los Angeles.

FINANCIAL DARING IN GETTING OPTIONS.

IT WAS the very daring of the proposal to buy an entire valley, the most valuable in Inyo county, and turn it over to the city for the water rights involved that has made the negotiations a success. Water rumors have been so frequent and so false in the Sierra country that mention of the possibility that Los Angeles would go so far for its water supply was regarded by the natives as a barroom gossip.

It was like the periodical discovery of the Pagoda mine something that happened once a month and yet was rare.

The chief difficulty encountered was from the Los Angeles side. A financial enterprise is always a delicate thing. A full prey of a small army of petty speculators. There are a thousand of them here who would have considered it a sharp stroke of business to side up with the Owens Lake country only to secure a few options in advance of Mr. Eaton to turn them over at a profit.

The purchases have been made without the necessity of securing a single option from them but the owners refer to great credit on all points concerned.

The first \$50,000 was expended after the trip made by the Mayor, the Attorney and Water Commissioner, Pay and Elliott. It was a heart-breaking trip that came near costing Mr. Elliott his life.

The party went into the valley, ostensibly for the purpose of inspecting Mr. Whitney with a view to forming a company and advancing the plan as a great summer resort.

This was the story agreed to by the party when they left Mulholland. It was much nearer to the truth than they then imagined. When the party put up the second night at a little hotel at the end of the mountain, arriving just in time for a view of a sunset on Mt. Whitney, they saw

No improvement was their only seemingly inadvisable supply of water that Mr. Eaton started to get options without further ado. The course was without official sanction, but the members of the party decided that it was their duty to act and act quickly. They felt that they could not make a chance on getting anyone else, no, not even the United States government, ahead of them.

This action is so received the officials of the Water Board, then all the deeds to property and the streets have been passed through the City Attorney's office. The City Attorney himself has placed his ink on every transaction.

Los Angeles Water Board, which secures 30,000 inches of water for the city. From left to right, J. J. Pay, J. M. Elliott, M. H. Sherman, William Mead, Fred L. Baker.

...miles of river front north of Owens, Mr. Eaton in the valley as a visitation, and his assistant, Mr. Perkins, along the line of the proposed canal.

Breaking the wall of government secrecy surrounding the proposed aqueduct, the Times of July 29, 1905, broadly announced to Los Angelenos the closing of preliminary negotiations. Encouragingly optimistic, the Times reported that "everyone is happy" in the Owens Valley.

on the properties they needed. Accordingly, a pledge was secured from all the Los Angeles newspapers that no mention would be made of the city water board's activities in relation to the Owens Valley. Nevertheless, Eaton's massive purchases and transfers of title to the city could not fail to be noticed at the valley land office, and embarrassing questions began to be raised about the real intentions of the Reclamation Service and its putative agent, Fred Eaton.

Faced with the threat of disclosure, the service headquarters staff in Washington, D.C., resolved: "We cannot clear the skirts of the Reclamation Service too quickly or completely."¹⁷ They decided, therefore, to call a panel of engineers to meet on neutral ground in San Francisco to review the Reclamation Service's plans and then to issue a report announcing that the proposed federal project was not as attractive as it had first seemed and, by default, that the aqueduct was a more worthy endeavor.

At the hearing in July, 1905, Lippincott of the Reclamation Service testified that the claims of Los Angeles to the Owens River water were superior to those of the reclamation project, and he recommended that the service therefore should do all it could to aid the city.¹⁸ This graceful transfer was fouled, however, by the appearance at the hearing of J. C. Clausen, the Reclamation Service engineer who designed the Owens Valley project. Clausen had been sent to Yuma during the period that the service was trying to plan a way to bow out of the valley, but he was not a man to play anyone's fool. When the hearing was called, he returned to testify about the Valley's assets for his irrigation project: abundant water power, fertile soil, genial climate, and the availability of agricultural markets in nearby Tonopah and Goldfield. Moreover, he demonstrated, it was economical. The Reclamation Service had twenty-eight projects on its drawing boards at that time, some ranging as high in cost as \$86 an acre. The Owens Valley project was budgeted at \$21.58 an acre as compared with an average price for all twenty-eight of \$30.97 an acre.¹⁹

Clausen's embarrassing testimony encouraged the review panel to issue a report favoring the federal government's project "unless the men who had bought key property for Los Angeles had made it impractical."²⁰ This report was not released, however, until July 28, 1905, the very day that Mulholland and Eaton concluded the final series of purchases

which did, in fact, render the federal project impractical.

With the appearance of this all-important caveat in the Reclamation Service's published report, the *Los Angeles Times* next morning breached the voluntary wall of silence which had hitherto surrounded the project with its own massive report on the city's plans to bring the Owens River to a vast reservoir in the San Fernando Valley. In characteristic exalted prose, it proclaimed: "The cable that has held the San Fernando Valley vassal for ten centuries to the arid demon is about to be severed by the magic scimitar of modern engineering skill."²¹

The *Times*' sudden revelation, however, had unfortunate consequences for a number of the aqueduct's principal supporters which were entirely unintended by the publisher of the *Times*, Harrison Gray Otis. The appearance of the *Times*' report that morning left Fred Eaton unprepared and trapped amidst an angry crowd of Owens Valley ranchers whom he just barely succeeded in staring down. An investigation of Lippincott's role in the affair began immediately and produced the not very surprising discovery that he had been drawing a salary from the city of Los Angeles while simultaneously working for the federal government. Lippincott's prospects of continued employment with the Reclamation Service were not improved by the fact that the *Times*, in its first report on the project, injudiciously commended him for his "valuable assistance" in "looking after" Fred Eaton's purchases and for his help in arranging an initial survey of the route for the aqueduct by federal engineers. The *Times* concluded, "Without Mr. Lippincott's interest and cooperation, it is declared that the plan never would have gone through. . . . Any other government engineer, a non-resident of Los Angeles and not familiar with the needs of this section, undoubtedly would have gone ahead with nothing more than the mere reclamation of arid lands in view."²² Damned by such avid praise, Lippincott was forced to resign the following May and moved directly to a post high in Mulholland's staff.

Newell similarly suffered from special commendation by the water board when on June 5, 1905, it passed an official resolution thanking him for his "valuable assistance." The resolution was promptly withdrawn when its potential effect upon Newell's career was realized, and Newell managed to remain on the federal payroll until a House investigation of his conflicting activities forced his suspension in 1913.²³

Clausen, meanwhile, resigned from the Reclamation Service and worked intermittently thereafter as a consulting engineer for the Owens Valley ranchers.

More important for the long-term prospects of the Los Angeles project, by breaking the gentleman's agreement among the other editors and scooping every other paper in town, Otis stirred the wrath of William Randolph Hearst, who, in 1903, had established the *Los Angeles Examiner*, the seventh in his expanding empire. The older newspapers in town, Otis' *Times* most prominently among them, shared the booster gospel of the business community; in the 1870's, for example, they had turned their pages into publicity broadsides for the first great land boom and distributed them in the hotels and business establishments of the East.²⁴ Hearst's press, however, was of the muck-racking persuasion, and while the other papers rallied in uniform praise of the proposed aqueduct, the *Examiner's* reports on the issue started out with suspicion and rapidly deteriorated into hostility.

The *Examiner's* initial line of inquiry focused sharply on the awesome haste with which the water board and city council were proceeding to get the project underway. On August 14, 1905, barely two weeks after the citizens of Los Angeles had learned for the first time of the planned aqueduct, the city council called for a \$1.5 million bond election to pay the costs of preliminary surveys and acquisition; the election was to be held three weeks later on September 7. The people were thus being asked to give initial approval to a project which was expected to cost \$23 million before they had even seen a map of the proposed aqueduct.²⁵

Meeting the attack, Mulholland attempted at first to drown all questions in a flood of statistics which, as they proliferated, became increasingly contradictory. The *Examiner* lept on the inconsistencies, pointing out that Mulholland could not even give a definite figure for the amount of water that Los Angeles would receive from the project. Mulholland, in turn, produced the voluminous reports prepared by the Reclamation Service to demonstrate that technical studies of the Owens River had been made, at least by someone.²⁶

Mulholland's other efforts to explain his inordinate haste met with no better reception on the editorial pages of the *Examiner*. When Mulholland, for example, warned that private investors would take over the development of the aqueduct if the city failed to act promptly, the *Examiner* pointed

out that Eaton had been trying for years to interest a private investor in the project without success and that the federal government's interest in the valley would prohibit a private takeover at this point. Similarly, when Mulholland maintained that the bond issue had to be passed to meet the first \$50,000 installment, due October 1 on Eaton's property at Long Valley, the *Examiner* argued that committing \$1.5 million in public funds for the sake of \$50,000 was patently absurd.²⁷

Mulholland ultimately resorted to exaggerations of the city's need for water as a way of encouraging voters to approve his bonds, and, in the weeks before the election, the *Times* began to print almost daily predictions of the dire consequences which would be visited on Los Angeles if the aqueduct were not built. One of the most persistent stories apparently fabricated as a part of this scare campaign involved the so-called drought which descended on Southern California at a time variously cited as 1892 or 1895 and which reportedly persisted until 1904. Modern historians still refer to this drought, although it seems to have originated with Mulholland in the election of 1905. For example, Erwin Cooper's *Aqueduct Empire* recalls on Mulholland's authority that the average rainfall in Los Angeles from 1895 to 1904 dropped to only six inches per year;²⁸ in fact, national weather bureau records reveal that Los Angeles' annual precipitation in this period averaged 11.52 inches.²⁹ Similarly, Remi Nadeau in his history of the Los Angeles Aqueduct reports that Mulholland first traveled to the Owens Valley in September, 1904, because that summer's "water famine" had set the city "reeling."³⁰ In fact, Los Angeles in 1904 received a perfectly average rainfall of 11.88 inches, and in August, the city experienced a record downpour for that month which was not even approached in the entire forty-year period from 1891 to 1930.³¹

Los Angeles did experience two successive years of rainfall below nine inches in 1898 and 1899, but over the next four years the levels of precipitation steadily increased, and in 1905, rainfall totalled 19.19 inches. In the sixteen years from 1890 to 1905, rainfall in Los Angeles averaged 13.00 inches a year, an amount not appreciably less than the 13.69-inch average annual rainfall in the corresponding, contemporary period from 1958 to 1973.³² Alternatively, in the twenty-four-year period from 1890 to 1913, the year the aqueduct was completed, the



A sylvan creek, one of the Sierra Nevada sources of the Owens River.



In 1906 Chief Mulholland (on right) pointed out the proposed aqueduct route to a party of engineers inspecting the line, including (from left) John R. Freeman, Jas. D. Schuyler, J. B. Lippincott (who was forced to resign from the Reclamation Service when he was found to be on the City of Los Angeles' payroll), and Fred P. Stearns.

average annual rainfall in Los Angeles of 13.84 inches actually exceeded the 13.46-inch average for the corresponding period from 1950 to 1973.

Nevertheless, Mulholland declared that the shortage existed, imposed strict measures to prevent waste by the citizenry, and predicted that the city's existing water supply could not support more than its present population of 200,000.³³ The reliability of this claim can be assessed by observing that before the aqueduct was completed, the population of the area more than tripled without the city experiencing a water shortage of any kind. To suggest that Mulholland's figures were calculated from whole cloth is not to say that Los Angeles' need for water was not real but rather that it was a need conditioned almost entirely upon the business community's prospect of massive growth and expansion in the years ahead.

The *Examiner*, meanwhile, continued digging for a more creditable reason behind the city's rush to judgment at the polls. Although the *Examiner* had long supported the idea of water project for Los Angeles, they had maintained from the outset, "There must be no politics and no graft."³⁴ Their first question for Mulholland when he announced the project was whether the possibility existed for graft. "None at all," Mulholland answered. "The only man who could graft is Fred Eaton, and I know that he never made a dirty dollar in his life and never will."³⁵ When the resolution to call an election sailed through the city council on August 14, the only dissenting councilman, A. D. Houghton, himself the product of the political reform movement led by J. R. Haynes and J. B. Irvine, observed ominously, "It almost looks as if some of these men [the other council members] whose character and integrity are above reproach, had been let in on this deal three or four months ago, had purchased arid lands, and are in haste to have them made valuable by this water project."³⁶ The *Examiner* picked up the insinuation of corruption and played it coyly on the editorial page, observing of the city council, "They are all men who, like Jim Fisk's legislators, 'do not stir around for nothing.' . . . They are the same men who obey the behests of the trolley and gas monopolies. How far is the water project allied with the interests which control their actions?"³⁷

The reference to the monopolies was a cut at a favorite *Examiner* adversary, Henry Huntington. Before the aqueduct

story broke, the *Examiner* was campaigning against Huntington and the city council for lax municipal ordinances which permitted the unsafe operation of Huntington's trolley cars to claim several hundred casualties among the citizenry each year. Huntington's active support of the aqueduct bond issue quickened the *Examiner's* suspicions for several reasons. In the first place, while the other local power companies opposed the project because they feared the competition with municipal power the aqueduct would generate, Huntington's Pacific Electric and Power Company endorsed the project. In addition, Huntington had recently extended a transit line into the San Fernando Valley, a sure sign that his development companies would soon follow. But this move would put Huntington at odds with the city water board for the meager water reserves available in the valley.³⁸ The revelation that a massive new water project was planned which would deliver water in great quantities for storage in the San Fernando Valley seemed an uncanny stroke of good luck for Mr. Huntington.

Almost as curious was the *Times's* support for the proposed aqueduct, for publisher Otis had at all other times opposed the principle of municipal ownership and had vigorously campaigned for an extension of the lease to the Los Angeles Water Company between 1898 and 1901. Councilman Houghton's suggestion of corruption brought a violent denunciation from the *Times* for this "braying ass, a stench in the nostrils of decency" and his reform-minded friends Haynes and Irvine, "freaks and pests who see no good in the existing order." When Houghton rose to question Mulholland during his presentation to the Municipal League the night of August 15, he was hooted down by the distinguished business leaders gathered there, and the *Times* observed approvingly: "If Councilman Howton [*sic*] had not been born by reason of a miscarriage (of justice) the city of Los Angeles would have escaped the annoyance and humiliation to which it has been subjected through his fool antics, his innumerable and disgusting monkeyshines, and his assinine performances in and out of the council chamber."³⁹

Significantly, on August 22, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran an editorial which pointed to the value of the proposed aqueduct to Los Angeles commerce and noted the recurrence of rumors in *Bradstreet's Financial Report* to the effect that the project was linked to a land development scheme for the San

Fernando Valley. The *Examiner* waited two days to allow the *Times*' Otis to prepare his response; then, on the same day that the *Times* attacked the *Chronicle* in an editorial entitled "Baseless Rumors," the *Examiner* struck with the revelation of an organized land syndicate which had purchased 16,000 acres in the San Fernando Valley for \$35 an acre, an investment which would return millions once water arrived from the Owens Valley. The *Examiner* named ten syndicate members, each of whom held 1000 shares in the San Fernando Mission Land Company at a par value of \$100 a share. The list included: Henry Huntington, of course; E. H. Harriman, president of the Union Pacific and the man to whom Huntington had sold the Southern Pacific after the death of his father, Collis; W. G. Kerchoff, president of the Pacific Light and Power Company; Joseph Sartori of the Security Trust and Savings Bank; L. C. Brand of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company; G. K. Porter, a San Fernando land speculator who owned the land bought by the syndicate; and, best of all from the *Examiner*'s point of view, the owners of the three leading newspapers of the city, E. T. Earl of the *Express*, and Harrison Gray Otis himself, publisher of the *Times* and "its vermiform appendix," the *Herald*.

The next morning, Otis leapt to attack the Hearst "yellow atrocity" declaring, "The insane desire of the *Examiner* to discredit certain citizens of Los Angeles has at last led it into the open as a vicious enemy of the city's welfare." In subsequent days, Otis asserted that the company had been formed two years earlier, before the aqueduct was anything more than a gleam in Fred Eaton's eye, a claim which the *Examiner* promptly demonstrated to be false. According to the company charter issued December 3, 1904, the company was formed and its stock subscribed on November 28, 1904, after Mulholland had secured the approval of his superiors on the water board to go ahead with planning for the project. Also, on November 28, Otis had issued a check for \$50,000 to secure an option on the ranch which was the core of the syndicate's holdings. Full purchase of the property, however, was not concluded until March 23, 1905, the day after Eaton made a down payment of \$100 to secure his option on the Long Valley property.⁴⁰

With less than two weeks to go until the city election, the high-pressure campaign for approval of the aqueduct bond issue was beginning to unravel. Otis' denials of guilt did not



Magnate Henry Huntington uncharacteristically supported municipal ownership of the mammoth aqueduct project, for he stood to gain immensely from the possible abundance of water in the San Fernando Valley as well as from the climate of commercial prosperity water would create for his other ventures.

prevent the other newspapers of the state from picking up the *Examiner's* report on the syndicate. Huntington rushed back to the city and closeted himself with his advisors at the exclusive Jonathan Club. On August 30, 1905, the temperature fortuitously rose to 101 degrees, the highest in twenty years, and lent credence to Mulholland's claims of an impending water famine, but the incipient heat wave broke the very next day. Worst of all, business leaders outside the circle which stood to gain most from the construction of the aqueduct began to comment in public that there was no need for such haste.⁴¹ In addition, on August 30, the *Examiner* observed editorially: "Of one thing the people of Los Angeles can be assured and that is that they will be in no danger of a water famine in the future even if the present scheme fails. No one else will acquire the water of the Owens Valley if the city needs it. And, maybe, if it is otherwise acquired there will be less suspicion of graft in the matter, and there will be competent engineers employed to devise a plan for impounding the water and bringing it here."

This, however, was as close as the *Examiner* would ever come to outright opposition to the aqueduct. There were, after all, larger interests at stake than those of Harrison Gray Otis and his partners in the land syndicate. Henry Huntington, for one, was then in the midst of negotiations to create a huge new seaport at San Pedro harbor to accommodate the traffic expected from the new canal in Panama. In addition, Huntington in July had initiated his latest land boom at Redondo. John M. Elliott, president of the Municipal League and himself a member of the water board, had spearheaded the consolidation of the First National Bank in August, the largest merger of financial institutions in the history of Los Angeles until that time. These and other new commercial ventures all depended for their success upon a growing metropolis with the water to serve a vast new population.

Accordingly, on September 2, the business leaders of Los Angeles invited Hearst to come to the city for private consultation. Hearst was by now a congressman and embarked at full sail upon his vain quest for the presidency. Political ambition had intruded upon the quality of his journalism by 1905, causing his editors across the country to be considerably more judicious in their exposure of graft, deception, and public scandal than had previously been the case.⁴² On the morning after Hearst's meeting with the businessmen, the

Examiner ran a front-page editorial, reportedly written by the Chief himself, endorsing the aqueduct and bond issue.

Although the editorial reiterated all the charges which the *Examiner* had already made against the project, it found an excuse for its apparent change of attitude in the recommendation made September 2 by representatives of the major business organizations in Los Angeles that funds to be derived from the municipal bonds not be spent until an independent panel of engineers approved Mulholland's plans at some point after the election. Considering its source, the city water board readily agreed to this condition. Therefore, the *Examiner* concluded, "The Board's promise not to embark deeply in the venture until the best expert advice is obtained, removes its most objectionable features."

The *Examiner's* justification for its change of position thus called upon city voters to approve the commitment of funds for a project which they did not understand; its dimensions, direction, and utility would all be revealed after they had agreed to buy this multi-million-dollar pig in a poke. Hearst's decision to endorse the project, however, was recommended by more than mere political gamesmanship. For all of the *Examiner's* revelations of double-dealing and deceit in the promotion of the bond issue, the fact remained unalterable that the entire community stood to benefit from the construction of the aqueduct. If the *Examiner* had sought to embarrass Otis for scooping the Hearst paper, that objective had been achieved. Personally, and as a matter of his public policy in Congress and the press, Hearst supported the principle of municipal ownership of utilities. But, by silencing his *Examiner*, he eliminated the last strong voice against the bond issue, which, four days later, passed by a margin of 14 to 1.

This battle won, Los Angeles next turned to the United States Congress to obtain a right of way for the aqueduct across federal lands. There, for the first time, they confronted the Owens Valley interests directly in the formidable presence on the House Public Lands Committee of Sylvester C. Smith, congressman from Inyo County. Smith proposed a compromise in the form of an amendment to the right-of-way bill introduced for the city by the Republican senator from Los Angeles, Frank P. Flint. By the terms of the proposed Smith compromise, the Reclamation Service would proceed with its irrigation project for the valley; any excess water would be available for transport to serve the domestic

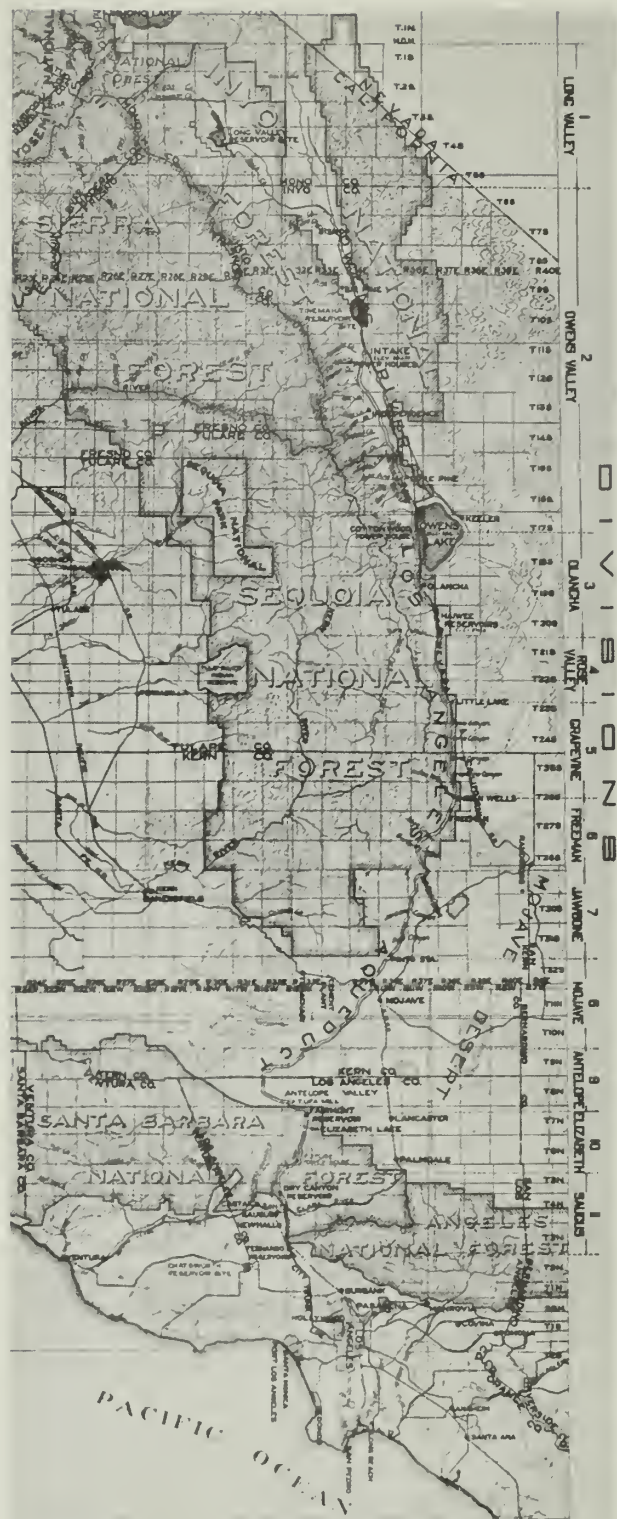
The proposed aqueduct was to carry water from Long Valley in the north (where Fred Eaton picked up the option on his ranch), Owens Valley, and the Owens River across the Mojave Desert through the San Fernando Valley to Los Angeles.

needs only of Los Angeles; and any water left over after Los Angeles' needs were met would revert to the Owens Valley.

Smith's proposal would protect the survival of the valley while at the same time allowing enough water for Los Angeles to meet those 'needs' which Mulholland had described in such desperate terms during the campaign for the bond election. But, by granting primacy to the claims of the Owens Valley upon the water, the Smith amendment was anathema to the as-yet-unspoken intentions of the city which looked ahead to the day when Los Angeles would tap the entire flow of the Owens River. Under the Smith amendment, as the city's need for water grew with her population, she would have to fight the valley in court for every additional drop she took from one year to the next. Alternatively, if agriculture in the valley blossomed, Los Angeles would perhaps wither.

The dilemma which the Smith amendment posed for the city as a whole was even more extreme in the case of the interests of the San Fernando syndicate. The success of the syndicate did not depend upon immediate settlement of the lands it held in the San Fernando Valley. Instead, the syndicate looked forward to years of profitable agricultural production made possible by the new water to come to these otherwise useless lands until the tide of urbanization would eventually reach out and claim their property. But, if use of the water for agriculture were prohibited under the Smith amendment, the syndicate would lose both the promise of income in these intervening years and, more importantly, its claims upon the water once settlement did begin. Once again, the private interests of Huntington, Otis, and the rest joined with the greater public interest served by Mulholland. As before, the need for water as perceived by both sides was founded in prospect rather than the existing conditions of the Los Angeles water supply. No conspiracy was necessary; their objectives were the same.

In Washington, Inyo Congressman Smith was joined by the Secretary of the Interior Ethan A. Hitchcock in opposition to the syndicate and support of the Owens Valley ranchers. Confronted with this alliance of authority, Mulholland agreed to accept the Smith amendment in a meeting with Smith and Flint on June 21, 1906.⁴³ Senator Flint, however, was not so ready to concede defeat, and he turned for assistance to President Roosevelt's close personal friend and



MAP
OF THE
LOS ANGELES AQUEDUCT
AND ADJACENT TERRITORY
OCTOBER 1906

chief of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot. On the night of June 23, Flint obtained an audience with Roosevelt, and, with Pinchot's help, he succeeded in convincing Roosevelt to oppose the Smith compromise. Hitchcock did not learn of this turn of events until June 25, when Roosevelt, despite the secretary's strenuous objections, sent a formal request to the House Public Lands Committee asking that the Smith amendment be removed. The committee reported Flint's bill out the next day drawn according to TR's instructions, and the House promptly approved it. On June 28, five days after Flint's first late night call, the bill went to the president's desk for signature.

Roosevelt's decision to side with Los Angeles and the special interests which stood to profit from the city's scheme to exploit the water of a small agricultural community would seem to mark a significant lapse in policy for a president who is remembered today as trustbuster, friend of the little man, and early champion of the modern conservation movement. As Henry Pringle notes in his biography of the president, "Roosevelt's passionate interest in the national forests, in reclamation of arid western lands by irrigation, in conservation of water power and other natural resources, may well be considered as part of his campaign against the malefactors of great wealth. . . . His opposition to exploitation of water power was based on the conception, novel in that day, that this was the property of the people and should redound to their benefit."⁴⁴

But, as John Morton Blum observes in *The Republican Roosevelt*, TR's policy was informed not so much by love for the weak as by a vision of Spencerian progression, the principles of Social Darwinism, and an overriding desire to establish order in a period of rapidly changing social relationships. His objective in battling the moneyed interests while favoring the formation of labor unions and agricultural associations was not the destruction of corporate wealth but rather the creation of "an equilibrium of consolidated interests over which government would preside." While his vision encompassed the details of individual cases of hardship, his eye was fixed ultimately upon the greater benefits for the nation which would proceed from such a balance of competing interests. Thus, Blum argues, "Roosevelt sponsored conservation not so much to preserve a domain for agriculture as to preserve and enhance the strength of the whole nation."⁴⁵

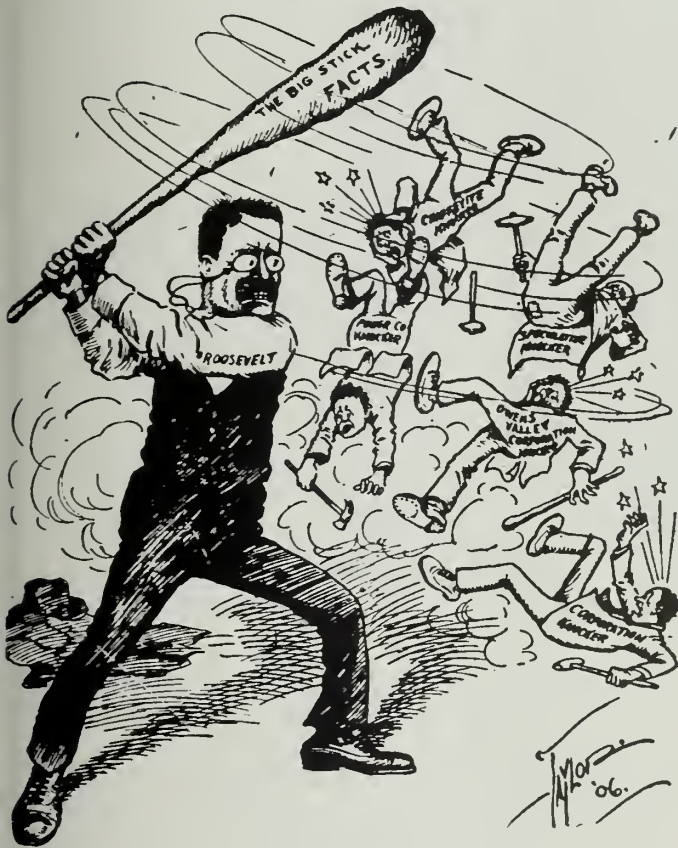
In the case of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, the locus of the national interest seemed clear to Roosevelt. While he acknowledged that the concerns of the Owens Valley were "genuine," he concluded that this interest "must unfortunately be disregarded in view of the infinitely greater interest to be served by putting the water in Los Angeles." In a formal letter to Interior Secretary Hitchcock, drafted June 25, 1906, in the secretary's presence as "a record of our attitude in the Los Angeles water supply question," Roosevelt argued, "It is a hundred or thousand fold more important to state that this [water] is more valuable to the people as a whole if used by the city than if used by the people of the Owens Valley."⁴⁶

For his part, Hitchcock focused upon the evils of the San Fernando syndicate, warning that the passage of Flint's bill without the Smith amendment would enable the city "to use the surplus of water thus acquired beyond the amount actually used for drinking purposes for some irrigation scheme."⁴⁷ Flint responded with the conventional argument that Los Angeles had to possess the surplus in order to retain the city's rights to it in the future, and he added that Smith's amendment was so faultily drafted that it might prohibit use of the water for domestic gardens in the city itself.

Roosevelt resolved the problem of the syndicate's interest after a fashion by insisting upon an amendment to the Flint bill which prohibited Los Angeles from selling the surplus to any private interest for resale as irrigation water. But, as the congressman who carried Flint's bill in the House observed, it was clear to the Public Lands Committee that the Roosevelt amendment "could not prevent the Los Angeles City Council from doing what it chose with the water. This water will belong absolutely to Los Angeles and the city council can do as it pleases with it—sell directly to private individuals or corporations for irrigation purposes, or sell to Pasadena or other surrounding towns for the same purposes, or for a water supply, or use it in any other way the council chooses." Smith himself agreed that, "It did not make any difference what became of the water after it was taken to the Los Angeles neighborhood."⁴⁸

Roosevelt found further cause for his support of Flint's bill in the fact that it was opposed by "certain private power companies whose object evidently is for their own pecuniary interest to prevent the municipality from furnishing its own water." The Southern California Edison Company and the

THE KNOCKERS KNOCKED.



The Times of June 29, 1906, celebrated Teddy Roosevelt's decision to side with Los Angeles—against the unlikely coalition of land speculators, private power interests, and the people of the Owens Valley—which assured federal approval of the project and its right of way across federal lands.

Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation, seeing their interests threatened by the proposed aqueduct, had joined in the back-room lobbying against the Flint legislation. This unfortunate identity of interest with the power companies proved fatal for the future of the Owens Valley, for, as Roosevelt observed of the power companies, "Their opposition seems to me to afford one of the strongest arguments for passing the law."⁴⁹

Although the local power companies might have hoped to share in the general prosperity which aqueduct water would bring to Los Angeles, they feared more the competition from the municipal power that the project would generate. The dilemma posed by the aqueduct was especially acute in the case of the Pacific Light and Power Company, which was owned by Henry Huntington and directed by William G. Kerchoff. Both were members of the San Fernando syndicate, and their interests were consequently divided between a proprietary fear of public power and the private gain they stood to make through the syndicate upon the project's completion. They reasoned that their problem could be resolved if the private power companies retained control of the power distribution system within the city. After the Flint bill had passed, Kerchoff accordingly approached Mulholland to discuss a long-term lease of the power facilities on the aqueduct. Mulholland's view of the aqueduct as a wholly municipal enterprise, however, did not allow for such a compromise. He viewed Kerchoff's proposal in the same light as Eaton's earlier advocacy of private ownership of the water itself, and he rejected Kerchoff's overture just as firmly.⁵⁰

Mulholland's stand on behalf of both public power and public water left the companies with no other option than to throw their weight against the second municipal bond election, scheduled for June 12, 1907, to provide the estimated \$23 million needed for actual construction of the aqueduct. The campaign, however, was doomed from the outset. Every other business institution in the city supported the bonds, and the opposition lacked a creditable issue on which to hang its case. The project had already been approved by the panel of engineers called for in the 1905 bond election. The companies could scarcely attack Otis, Huntington, and Kerchoff on the issue of a syndicate conspiracy, and public arguments for their own self-interests predictably carried little weight with the electorate. From the perspective of the Los Angeles

BOY BOOSTERS OF OWENS RIVER BONDS



By June, 1907, popular support for the second municipal bond election to provide \$23 million for physical construction of the project ran strong. On June 6, 1907, the *Times* featured a group of civic-minded Boyle Heights Club boys who urged passage of the bond issue.

Debunking the last-minute, pre-bond election charges by Samuel T. Clover ("Alkali Sammy") that Owens River water was polluted with unnatural concentrations of alkali, the *Times* of May 25, 1907, carried this critical cartoon. The bond issue passed in every one of the city's 143 precincts.

voters, it was one thing for a group of special interests like the San Fernando syndicate to profit from a project which would yield greater benefits for all and quite another for the special interests combined in the power companies to stop the project altogether.

The leaders of the resistance to the aqueduct bonds of 1907 ultimately resorted to specious charges that the Owens River was polluted by unnatural concentrations of alkali. This campaign issue, easily and promptly disproved by chemical analysis, was promoted through the pages of the *Los Angeles Evening News*, a new paper set up under the editorship of Samuel T. Clover. In debunking the charges of "Alkali Sammy," Otis at the *Times* was scarcely moved to the rhetorical heights he had reached in promoting the initial bond election.⁵¹ Otis made one misstep on May 24, however, when he published a declaration that he had sold his interest in the San Fernando syndicate in February, 1905, and defied the "allegators" to prove him wrong. It was stupid for Otis to make a claim that Clover could so easily disprove by checking the public records of the syndicate's incorporation, and the

personal embarrassment that resulted was unnecessary in view of the ineffectuality of Clover's campaign.

When Clover turned to attacking the syndicate, however, Kerchoff formally withdrew from the fight he could not truly have wished to win, and the other power companies soon gave up, too. Without the contributions from the power companies which had kept his paper afloat after the other elements of the business community withdrew their advertising, Clover went out of business.⁵² By the end of May, the *Times* reported, the only corporate opposition to the bond issue came from one J. D. Hooker, owner of a steel pipe manufacturing firm who hoped to convince the city to use his product for constructing the aqueduct rather than concrete.⁵³ On election day, the bond issue passed in every one of the city's 143 precincts, and the *Times* wryly observed, "The antis were as rare as a ham sandwich at a picnic of the sons of Levi."⁵⁴

The burden of responsibility now descended upon Mulholland, the self-educated engineer whose judgment and ability had been made an issue in both the campaigns of 1905

**"IN A DRY HOLE"--- BOTH ALLEGATIONS AND
"ALLEGATOR."**



and 1907. Opponents of the project had been quick to point out that he had never constructed a waterworks of any size and that for the sixteen years he served as superintendent of the Los Angeles Water Company, he had scrupulously hewed to the company line that there was no need for a water project of the kind he now proposed to build. Beginning in September, 1907, Mulholland thus began to fulfill what had been in part a vote of confidence in himself.

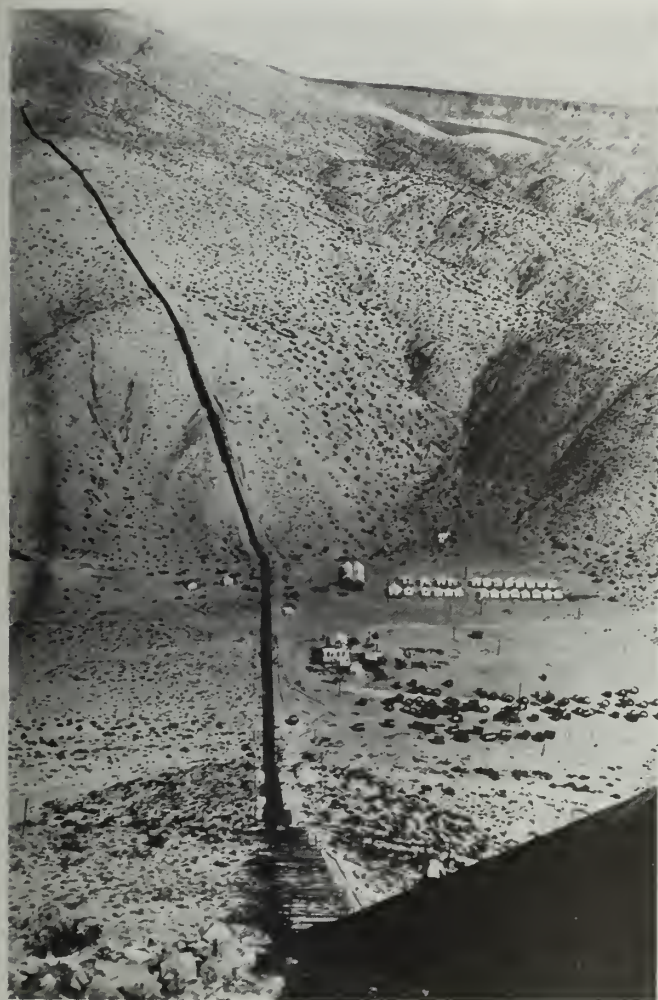
The Los Angeles Aqueduct was one of the largest municipal projects ever undertaken in modern times. In its original form, it extended 233 miles, included 142 tunnels totaling 53 miles in length, and took six years to complete. To service the construction work, 120 miles of railroad track and more than 500 miles of highways and trails had to be laid. Mulholland insisted that municipal rather than private contractors be employed wherever possible and, toward that end, the Bureau of the Los Angeles Aqueduct built its own cement plant, developed a special mix of cement, and constructed two hydro-electric plants to provide power to the project.⁵⁵ For the construction work itself, Mulholland devised a sys-

tem of quotas under which bonuses were paid to each man who surpassed his quota for the day. In this way, the work proceeded rapidly, with new records for drilling being set and reset while the project as a whole remained safely within its projected budgetary limits.⁵⁶

While Mulholland's crews worked their way across the mountains and desert, great political changes were sweeping Los Angeles which threatened to alter distribution plans for the aqueduct water. The Southern Pacific's domination of local politics had been broken, and the Republican party had split into Progressive and regular factions. In the spring of 1909, the Progressives succeeded in electing Mayor George Alexander in a recall campaign during which the incumbent resigned just before election day. The Progressives posed no direct threat to the aqueduct, and Mayor Alexander promised nothing more radical than "honest business government," but the tide of reform was rising fast, and in the same election which saw Alexander take office an unfunded and virtually unknown Socialist candidate came within 1700 votes of victory.⁵⁷

The anti-union zeal of Harrison Gray Otis had kept Los Angeles locked in a battle with organized labor ever since the typographers' strike of 1890. Following the Pullman Strike of 1894, Otis had founded the Merchants and Manufacturers Association to fight the threat of unionism. Businessmen who refused to join the organization found their credit cut off at the banks, and members who weakened in the face of union demands had their products boycotted by the association.⁵⁸ In 1910, the American Federation of Labor responded by establishing a unified labor council in Los Angeles to fight against the open shop in what they called "the scabbiest town on earth." Mayor Alexander and his Progressive allies on the city council, all of whom scrupulously avoided any contact with labor, struck back against the AFL with an ordinance drawn up by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association which prohibited picketing of any kind. Mass arrests followed, and in the mayoralty campaign of 1911, the union forces drew behind the candidacy of Job Harriman, Socialist nominee for governor in 1898 and for vice-president in 1900 and an early critic of the aqueduct during the bond election of 1907. In the primary election November 1, Harriman led the field and looked to be an easy victor over the incumbent Alexander in the general election scheduled for December 5.





Construction on the aqueduct which was to extend 233 miles began in late 1907, and work proceeded rapidly despite a strike along the entire length of the line in 1910 and difficult construction problems. Men worked on an open lined canal for the Owens Valley (left) and the spectacular Jawbone Siphon near Mojave (above).

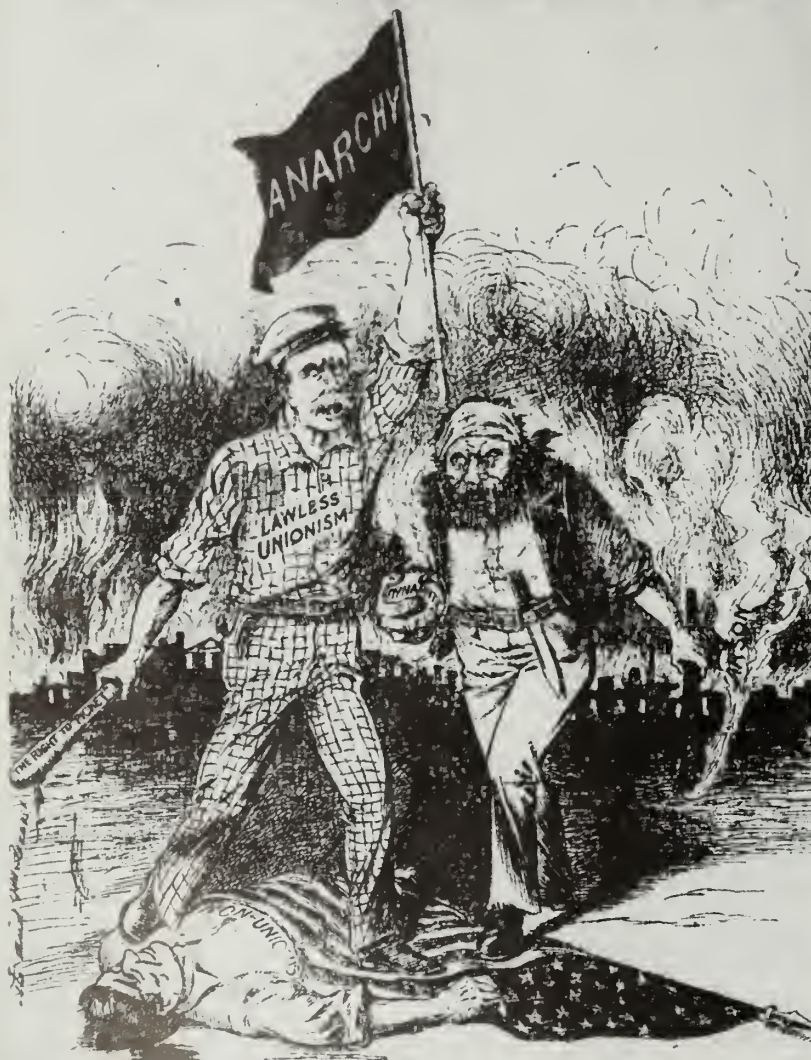
The threat which the anticipated election of Job Harriman posed to Mulholland's project was, at best, indirect. With less than fifty miles yet to be constructed, Harriman could scarcely have ordered a halt to the aqueduct so near to its completion. But he did raise numerous charges concerning the safety of its design and the financing of its operation. More important, in Harriman's rhetoric the aqueduct intertwined with the schemes of the San Fernando syndicate to become a symbol of all that was corrupt in the incumbent administration. All of the charges made against the aqueduct in 1905 and 1907 were brought out again, and Harriman warned from the stump that if the San Fernando syndicate ever secured the water from the Owens Valley, the city would lose its right to regain it for municipal use. Harriman accordingly promised that if he could not stop the project, as mayor he would make certain that the syndicate never received a drop of water from the aqueduct.⁵⁹

The mayoralty campaign of 1911 was thus considerably more significant to the party of interests behind the aqueduct than either of the bond elections of 1905 and 1907 had been because it raised the prospect of a complete change in the administration of public policy under a political movement in no way allied with the business community and its objectives. From the point of view of the *Los Angeles Times*, the issues in the election were clearly drawn: "The forces of law and order against Socialism—peace and prosperity against misery and chaos—the Stars and Stripes against the red flag."⁶⁰

In response, the business community drew together to meet the threat in full force. Otis dropped his customary line of vituperation against Progressivism, and the operations of Mayor Alexander's Good Government League were suspended after the primary and its Progressive leaders absorbed into the regular Republican organization. In its place, Bradner Wells Lee, chairman of the County Republican Committee, and William M. Garland, president of the Realty Board, agreed to lead "a great, strictly non-partisan general committee unshackled by any partisan ties, embracing Democrats, Republicans, and Independents into one great party—the People—to crush in defeat the Socialist movement that is declared to be threatening the city's progress."⁶¹

While Harrison Gray Otis patrolled the streets in his private limousine with a cannon mounted on the hood and held forth daily against the "anarchic scum" who challenged

*What the "Red Flag of Revolt" Has Always Meant.
I am, Abiding Unionists! Remember Chicago's Experience With It in 1877-1885-1894.*



Do We Actually Want This in Los Angeles?

Quotations from Socialistic literature in present campaign: "Wanted—A few men not afraid to die!" "Let us arouse the working class and invoke their power to smite the conspirators and set our brothers free." "The men who are responsible for the revolt when it comes may hide their cowardly carcasses, as they always do, but there will be an attending force . . . to hunt them out and feed them to the furies." "Let us swear that we will use every weapon at our command!" "Roll up a Socialistic vote in California that will shake the Pacific Coast like an earthquake, and back it up with a general strike that will paralyze the continent!"

"Let the sturdy toilers of the Pacific Coast raise the Red Standard of Revolt!"

No! The law-abiding Union toilers of Los Angeles and the Pacific Coast will cut loose from dynamiters, anarchists and murderers!



In the 1911 mayoralty election, Socialist Job Harriman raised questions of municipal corruption concerning the intertwining of the San Fernando syndicate and the aqueduct and threatened to withhold water from the syndicate's lands if elected, while Harrison Gray Otis (above) patrolled the streets in a cannon-equipped limousine, and his paper, the Times, warned on December 2, 1911, that unionism and picketing were directly connected to anarchy, dynamiting (a reference to the Times building bombing in October, 1910), and irreverence for the Stars and Stripes (left).

his "Campaign to Save Los Angeles," the other major papers in town imposed a virtually total blackout on any news of Harriman's campaign events. Harriman's name appeared only in conjunction with predictions of the dreadful cost for the city if he were elected. Newspaper editorials warned variously that eastern investors would withdraw their support from municipal projects if a socialist took office; that the American Home would be undermined by hordes of "aliens" poised to rush into the city at the moment of Harriman's victory; that the city under Harriman would be no better than San Francisco, which was just then undergoing the revelation of scandals by Abe Ruef and the Union Labor party; and, finally, that since Harriman had won the primary in the first election at which women in the city had been permitted to vote, his ultimate victory would mean the death of women's suffrage as other states saw how women abused their franchise.

Mayor Alexander, rather than try to answer every charge against his conduct in office, barricaded himself in city hall and explained that the press of public business left him no time for speechifying. Similarly, all other city officials declined repeated requests from the Harriman camp to debate the question of "political and financial manipulation for the private interests of a few capitalists" in the construction of the aqueduct.⁶²

The aqueduct, however, was not the only issue in the campaign of 1911. Of equal importance on the local scene, and far greater significance nationally, was the simultaneous trial of two brothers, James B. and John Joseph McNamara, on charges of having dynamited the offices of the *Los Angeles Times* on the night of October 1, 1910. Harriman himself was a member of the team of defense attorneys headed by Clarence Darrow, and throughout the city workers bore campaign buttons reading "McNamaras Innocent! Vote for Harriman!" Mayday, 1911, was declared McNamara Day, and huge supportive parades were organized in every major city across the country. Small contributions to the McNamara Defense Fund poured in from laboring men and women throughout the nation, and thousands came for the trial itself.

Darrow's problem, though few could be sure of it at the time, was that his clients were guilty. With the *Times* charging that Harriman was a member of the dynamite conspiracy and that Darrow was financing the Harriman campaign from the

McNamara Defense Fund, Darrow realized that the election and his case were fatally intertwined and that any negotiated plea for his clients would have to be approved by Otis' allies in the business community. Darrow sent as his agent in these negotiations the journalist Lincoln Steffens who personally favored a guilty plea because he hoped thereby to see Darrow extend his concept of justifiable homicide as a defense against capital punishment to what Steffens saw as a greater principle of "justifiable dynamiting." Steffens' offer of a guilty plea met with favor in the inner councils of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and Otis was convinced to forego the pleasure of seeing the brothers hang. But, the business leaders demanded as their price for this agreement the defeat of Job Harriman. And so, on December 1, four days before the election, Darrow rose in court to announce a change of plea to guilty.⁶³

The shock of Darrow's action was immediate and devastating. Darrow walked out of court that day on streets littered with discarded Harriman campaign buttons. Harriman himself had not been consulted on the settlement, and he read the doom of his hopes of election in the press next morning.⁶⁴ In one stroke, the business community had turned back the Socialist challenge and emerged from the conflict stronger than before. The Progressives had been forced to fall back upon the regular party machinery in their hour of need, and neither they nor the Socialists would ever mount a significant electoral challenge again. But the charges against the aqueduct had not been answered in the campaign of 1911, and they would be raised again, first by the embittered Socialists and their allies in the labor movement, and later from a quarter the city officials had all but ignored, the Owens Valley itself.

Part II of this article, "The Politics of Exploitation," will appear in the next issue of the Quarterly. The article will focus on the governmental response to the dramatic confrontation in the Owens Valley which followed the completion of the aqueduct.

The photographs on pages 13 and 19 are taken from Department of Public Service, *Complete Report on Construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct* (Los Angeles, 1916); on page 3, courtesy Los Angeles Department of Water and Power; on page 4, courtesy California State Library; on page 6, courtesy Security Pacific National Bank, Los Angeles; on page 18, courtesy Victor Plukas Collection, Los Angeles; on page 11, courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino; on page 20 (right), courtesy *Los Angeles Times* Public Relations Department.

Notes

1. Undoubtedly the most influential of the histories which advocate a conspiracy theory for the aqueduct was Morrow Mayo's *Los Angeles* (New York, 1933) a sensationalist tract which included a chapter on the aqueduct controversy under the title "The Rape of the Owens Valley." Mayo's influence can be read most clearly in Carey McWilliams' treatment of the subject in *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, 1946), in numerous articles, speeches and essays which appeared after the destruction of the Owens Valley, and in *Billion Dollar Blackjack: The Story of Corruption and the Los Angeles Times* (Beverly Hills, 1954), an intemperate attack on Harrison Gray Otis and his successors written by a former member of the State Board of Equalization, William G. Bonelli, just before he fled the country to avoid indictment. By 1950, as Remi Nadeau observed in his *Water Seekers* (Garden City, N.Y., 1950) Mayo's "wild charges and inaccurate history" had been "tacitly accepted as fact" (pp. 127-128).
The film *Chinatown* proceeds on the assumption of a conspiracy. The story of the film is set in the midst of a bond election for a new municipal water project. The project is opposed by the city water engineer on the basis that its design would repeat the mistakes made in the construction of an earlier project which collapsed, causing considerable loss of life. The project is backed by a powerful local industrialist who once owned the city water supply in partnership with the current city water engineer. In the course of the film, it is discovered that the city's water is being secretly diverted to the sewers in order to create the illusion of a water shortage and that the water from the new project would benefit not the city but the semi-arid farmlands of the San Fernando Valley, which the backers of the project have been purchasing through forced sales in connivance with city officials. Each of these elements of the plot has a basis in the history of the aqueduct, but the sequence of events has been rearranged in the film, characters have been compressed and simplified, incidents of murder and incest have been added, and the whole has been updated to the 1930's.
2. In "Joseph Barlow Lippincott and the Owens Valley Controversy: Time for Revision," *Southern California Quarterly*, 54 (Fall, 1972), Abraham Hoffman ably reviews the historiography of the controversy and the interdependence of the various authors who have treated the subject. Hoffman has been searching for correspondence relevant to the controversy for many years. In this article he describes his difficulties in this enterprise and presents one of his more significant finds, a letter from J. B. Lippincott in which Lippincott attempts to justify his actions with regard to the Owens Valley.
3. In 1887, the California legislature passed the Wright Act which permitted fifty or more landowners to petition their County Board of Supervisors for the formation of a public irrigation district to be financed by the issuance of bonds and the imposition of taxes on the landowners to be served by the district. Although fifty public districts were formed in the three years following enactment of the Wright Act, few succeeded, and private companies chartered by the state continued to dominate water development through the first two decades of the twentieth century. See Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden* (New York, 1968), p. 409.
4. The Los Angeles City Council initially intended to surrender the city's entire interest in its own water supply and would have done so had not Mayor Christobal Aguilar vetoed the lease in its original form. See Vincent Ostrom, *Water and Politics: A Story of Water Policies and Administration in the Development of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1953), pp. 42-47. The rates which the company paid on its lease were permanently set in 1868, and the company successfully resisted subsequent attempts by the city to establish a more equitable charge for the use of the water during the latter decades of the lease. By the time the lease expired in 1898, the company was declaring regular 6 per cent dividends and had earned an estimated 10-35 per cent return on its investment. See Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 95.
5. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 46, reports on J. B. Lippincott's authority that under the company's rate structure, the average family in Los Angeles paid \$5 a year for water and \$10 for company profits.
6. The 1903 amendment to Article XVIII of the Los Angeles City Charter specified that each of the five members of the board should serve four-year staggered terms, and that no more than three of the five should come from one political party. In addition, the board controlled its own fund into which all of the revenues from the water system were deposited. See Los Angeles City, *Charter as Adopted January 1889 and Amended January 1903* (Los Angeles, 1903), pp. 58-60.
7. The city may have had little choice with regard to retaining Mulholland. The Los Angeles Water Company kept few records, and when the members of the new city water board asked to see a map of the distribution system they had acquired, Mulholland replied that there was no map but that he could tell them anything they wanted to know. According to this story, which may have improved in the retelling, Mulholland was able to recall from memory the age, diameter, and length of every section of pipe in the company's 325-mile system, and he was the only source the city had for such information. See J. B. Lippincott, "William Mulholland—Engineer, Pioneer, Raconteur" Part II, *Civil Engineering*, 11:161-64 (March, 1941).
8. First settled in the early 1860's by prospectors and stockmen,

the Owens Valley had no sooner overcome the resident Indians than hard times descended on the region. In the 1870's, the area became a refuge for bandits, and as late as 1875, the outlaw Tiburcio Vasques commanded the highways of southern Inyo. Although mail service and a telegraph line were established in 1875 and 1876 respectively, the Owens Valley did not truly begin to share in the prosperity of the more settled regions of Nevada and California until the turn of the century. See Willie Arthur Chalfant, *The Story of Inyo* (Published by the Author, Second Revised Edition, 1933). Hereinafter, Chalfant, 2nd.

9. *Sacramento Union*, March 30, 1927.
10. The initial surveys by the Reclamation Service were made in June, 1903. In July, 21,000 acres of Owens Valley land were removed from entry; in August, an additional 436,480 acres; in October, 58,000 acres; and in January, 1904, a final 50,000 acres, for a total of 564,480 acres. Chalfant, 2nd, p. 339.
11. Lippincott's apologium to a family friend, Fernand Lungren, is dated September 19, 1905, and is reprinted in full in Hoffman, "Lippincott and Owens Valley Controversy," fn. 2. Lippincott commented, "If I have done any wrong in connection with this matter, it was in the writing of this report [on Southern California water, for which he was paid by Los Angeles.]" Lippincott explained, "I wrote this report because I considered it a public duty, because I wanted to help the City that I lived in for fifteen years, and because I believe it is the real purpose of these records that they should be used in aiding the best development of the country at large."
12. *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1905. A Miner's inch, a unit of measurement employed by Southern California hydrographers of this period, was equivalent to .02 of a cubic foot per second flow. Over the course of a year, this proposed \$1.5 million sale would have yielded approximately 217,138 acre feet of water to Los Angeles.
13. *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 5, 1905.
14. Quotation attributed to Lippincott by Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, 25.
15. Eaton discusses his plans for a cattle empire in the *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 30, 1905. In addition to the cattle, which were his to keep regardless of whether the aqueduct were approved, Eaton received \$10 a day plus expenses for his efforts in securing options on behalf of Los Angeles. Chalfant, 2nd, p. 343, reports that it was understood at the time that Eaton only invested \$30,000 of his own money to secure the option on Long Valley.
16. Lippincott, in his letter to Lungren (see footnotes 2 and 11) denies supplying Eaton with credentials and comments, "The allegation that these options were entered into under the assumption that they were given for the Reclamation Service may or may not be true, but certainly the Reclamation Service or myself have never in any manner, directly or indirectly, given these people to understand that this was the case. It was a conclusion which they jumped at themselves." Lippincott does admit sending Eaton a letter, but declares that it simply asked Eaton to report on his progress. Lippincott could not produce a copy of this letter at the time he wrote to Lungren, and Chalfant, 2nd, p. 342, states that the letter Eaton produced established him as Lippincott's agent in examining right of way applications for a federal power project in the valley. If Lippincott did not provide Eaton with the credentials of a federal agent, he was certainly aware of what Eaton was doing, because Lippincott told Lungren he had to tell Eaton to stop representing himself as a federal agent "on more than one occasion."
17. Arthur P. Davis to F. H. Newell, undated correspondence, quoted in Chalfant, 2nd, p. 343. Davis' concern was prompted by an investigation of the service's action on the Owens Valley project by Acting Secretary of the Interior Thomas Ryan. Ryan, in turn, was acting on complaints concerning Eaton's activities which had been made to the Department of Interior and to the president by the registrar of the land office in Independence.
18. Lippincott to Lungren in Hoffman, "Lippincott and Valley Controversy."
19. Clausen estimated the total cost of the Reclamation Service project for the Owens Valley at \$2,293,398. This included a reservoir and 140-foot dam at Long Valley and irrigation canals skirting the Sierra and White Mountain ranges on the west sides of the valley. Chalfant, 2nd, pp. 340-341.
20. Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, p. 28.
21. *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1905.
22. *Ibid.*
23. The Newell resolution was not recorded, but portions of it are quoted in Chalfant 2nd, p. 345, and in the *San Francisco Call*, April 28, 1924. Chalfant reports (p. 348) that the Reclamation Service spent \$26,000 on its plans for the valley, for which it was reimbursed \$14,000 by the city. Also, in the first edition of *The Story of Inyo*, published in 1922 (hereinafter Chalfant 1st), he states that Lippincott and an aide received \$1,000 from the city in direct payments (p. 324).
24. Remi Nadeau, *Los Angeles* (New York, 1960), p. 69. See also Roske, *Everyman's Eden*, 415.
25. The *Examiner* was the only agency to provide the citizens of Los Angeles with a detailed map of the Owens Valley itself, which the paper's staff pieced together from topographic studies and published on August 20, 1905.
26. See, for example, *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 16, 18, 1905.
27. See, for example, *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 17, 28, 1905.
28. Erwin Cooper, *Aqueduct Empire* (Glendale, 1968), p. 60. Cooper uses 1895 as the starting date for the drought; Roske and Nadeau use 1892. Mulholland used both without partiality.

29. United States, Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau, *Climatic Summary of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1930), section 18, Southern California and Owens Valley, pp. 3-5, 17, 18.
30. Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, 20-21.
31. Rainfall in August, 1904, totalled 0.17 inches as compared with the average rainfall for August in the period 1891-1930 of 0.03 inches; the next greatest August rainfall in this four-year period occurred in 1901, 0.09 inches. There was no August rainfall at all in thirty-one of the forty years included in this survey.
32. Calculations for the period 1958-1973 and 1950-1973 are made from the precipitation tables which appear in the *California Statistical Abstract* in the volumes for 1971-1974 and the comprehensive edition of 1970. Precipitation data is prepared by the California Department of Water Resources in cooperation with the United States Department of Commerce, Environmental Science Services Administration.
33. Mulholland's calculations were based on a total water supply estimated at 33-34 million gallons per day at a peak consumption rate of 190 gallons per capita. See *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 31, 1905. Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, p. 34, notes that critics of the project later charged that Mulholland diverted water from the city reservoirs into the sewers in order to create the illusion of a water famine. No such allegation ever reached print during the campaign of 1905, although the *Examiner*, on September 1, 1905, carried a story in conjunction with Mulholland's claim of drought which noted that the city was losing 24,000 gallons a day from leaks in the municipal high service reservoirs.
34. *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 2, 1905.
35. *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 30, 1905.
36. *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 15, 1905.
37. *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 16, 1905.
38. At the same time that the city began acquiring property in the Owens Valley, it initiated suits to prevent 200 ranchers in the San Fernando Valley from tapping the underground storage waters of the Los Angeles River. See *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 20, 1905.
39. *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 1905.
40. See *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 24, 25, 28, 1905.
41. See, for example, the comments printed in the *Examiner*, September 2, 1905, by H. W. Hellman, president of the Merchants National Bank, and C. Seligman of the M. A. Newark and Company calling for the creation of a "committee of large taxpayers" to investigate the project.
42. Swanberg describes the situation of the Hearst chain in the summer of 1905 as follows: "Every Hearstman from Boston to Los Angeles knew how the Chief had been bitten by the Presidential bug, and it subtracted something from their already limited integrity in reporting the news. Most of all, it affected the Chief himself. Before politics seized him he had taken a fierce pride in his journalistic achievements, outlandish though they often were. Now, Politician Hearst subtracted something from Editor Hearst. While it would not be quite fair to say that he now considered his newspapers simply as a means to reach the White House, that would be an important part of their function." W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York, 1961), pp. 221-222.
43. *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1906.
44. Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1931), Harvest Books Edition, p. 302.
45. John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (New York, 1966), pp. 106-113.
46. Roosevelt's letter to Hitchcock is reprinted in full in the *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1906.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Los Angeles Times*, June 29, 1906.
49. Roosevelt to Hitchcock, *Los Angeles Times*, June 28, 1906.
50. In 1911, the local power companies attempted to promote this same proposal once again in the form of an unsuccessful charter amendment which would have allowed the companies to buy power from the aqueduct and market it within the city, thereby saving Los Angeles the cost of building its own distribution system (See Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 230-233). Mulholland, by this time, was safely removed from any position which would bring him into direct confrontation with the private power interests. In 1907, he retained E. F. Scattergood as the aqueduct electrical engineer. On Mulholland's recommendation, Scattergood was subsequently placed at the head of a separate bureau exclusively responsible for the distribution of aqueduct power. This division of responsibilities made practical sense because Mulholland had no expertise in the field of power generation. But it also proved politically fortunate for Mulholland, whose water programs were generally popular, while Scattergood met with intense opposition from certain segments of the business community and became the focus of controversy for many years. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 83-84, describes this political division as follows: "Mulholland and the water bureau usually had the political support of the more conservative commercial and business organizations of the community. The Chamber of Commerce always supported a water bond and the *Los Angeles Times* always gave Mulholland a favorable press. . . . On the other hand, the power bureau was consistently opposed by a substantial group of the business community identified with the private utility companies. . . . Beginning in 1914, the *Los Angeles Times* opposed power bond issues as consistently as it supported water bond issues."
51. See for example, *Los Angeles Times*, May 20, 21, and 24, 1907.
52. *Los Angeles Herald*, June 4, 1907.
53. *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1907.

The Los Angeles Aqueduct

54. *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1907. The election was novel in that it marked an early appearance of the automobile in the strategy of modern campaigning. For the first time, the wealthier members of the community donated their new horseless carriages to ferry voters to and from the polls. The resulting turnout was the largest yet recorded for a special election in Los Angeles: 24,051 as compared with only 11,542 ballots cast in the first bond election two years earlier.
55. Mulholland enjoyed an estimated 20 per cent savings on construction costs by relying on municipal employees rather than private contractors. The Bureau of the Los Angeles Aqueduct itself built all but eleven miles of the canal and drilled all but 1485 feet of tunnel. See Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, 94.
56. In his haste to get construction under way, however, Mulholland failed to secure his financing. Instead of waiting to accumulate funds from the bond sales, Mulholland arranged for advanced sales of the aqueduct securities to New York City bond merchants. As a result, he operated with a cash reserve sufficient to cover only thirty days of continued construction. In May, 1910, the bond market collapsed, and Mulholland was forced to lay off more than 70 per cent of his work force. These massive layoffs, in turn, brought increases in the unit prices charged for food by Mulholland's concessionaires on the project. The resulting dissatisfaction among the work crews provided a long-awaited opening for the radical Industrial Workers of the World, which began organizing the laborers on the aqueduct through the Western Federation of Miners. By November, Mulholland faced a strike along the entire length of the project, and order was restored only when the bond market recovered in the middle of 1911.
57. For an overall review of the Alexander administration, see Martin J. Schiesl, "Progressive Reform in Los Angeles under Mayor Alexander, 1909-1913" *California Historical Quarterly*, 54 (Spring, 1975), pp. 37-56. The promise of "honest business government" is drawn from George Alexander, "What I am Going to Do" *Pacific Outlook*, April 3, 1909.
58. Roske, *Everyman's Eden*, 475.
59. The relatively mild Socialist platform on which Harriman campaigned was drafted by a New Haven clergyman, Alexander Irvine, who had been driven from his pulpit for preaching Christian Socialism. The platform is reprinted in Irvine's *Revolution in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1911), p. 84.
60. *Los Angeles Times*, November 1, 1911.
61. *Los Angeles Herald*, November 4, 1911.
62. *Los Angeles Herald*, November 9, 1911.
63. The history of the trial has been told often and well from a wide range of perspectives. The way in which Darrow's negotiations were intertwined with the course of Harriman's campaign is brought out in particular detail in Irving Stone's biography, *Clarence Darrow for the Defense* (Garden City, N.Y., 1943), pp. 248-343.
64. Darrow expressed regret at this effect of his decision, but he explained, "The lives of my clients were at stake, and I had no right or inclination to consider anything but them. I could not tell Mr. Harriman; it would place him in the position of either deserting his party or letting one client go to almost certain death, which he could not do." Clarence Darrow, *The Story of My Life* (New York, 1932), p. 184.

The Viceregal Order for the Founding of San Francisco

The national bicentennial focuses primarily on historical events on the East Coast, yet important developments in the nation's history also occurred on the West Coast in the fateful year 1776. It was in that year the Fray Junípero Serra (1713-1784) and his Franciscan colleagues established the Mission San Francisco de Asís and laid the foundation for what is now the City of San Francisco.

After the first exploration of Spanish Alta California by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542, what is now called San Francisco Bay remained immune for many years from foreign intrusion. The discovery of the great bay by the expedition of Gaspar de Portolá in 1769 made its existence definitively known and thus created a need for its occupation. The expansion of England and Russia into the Pacific area during the mid-eighteenth century, as well as the doctrine of effective occupation of colonial possessions, also furthered the need for Spanish settlement in Alta California in order to retain the region for the Spanish crown.

Under the Viceroyalty of Bailio (Commander) Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa (1717-1779)¹ extensive expansion into Alta California and the Pacific Northwest was carried out by Spanish forces. Troubles with supplies, however, delayed occupation of the more northerly areas of Alta California. Reports of the voyages by English and French explorers alarmed the Spanish, and Russian advances into Alaska caused Bucareli much concern. Accordingly, he dispatched Juan Bautista de Anza in 1772 and Fernando de Rivera y Moncada² in 1774 to explore the northern regions of Alta California. They were to try to discover a reputed water route to the interior by way of the "Rio de San Francisco" (Sacramento River), as well as to determine a site for settlement.³

When these expeditions failed to achieve what was desired, Bucareli pressed in 1774 for the establishment of a colony effectively to occupy the region around the great bay. Submitted to the Council of War and Royal Treasury,

Mr. Mathes is professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

This report developed as a result of the enthusiasm of Dudley W. Bennett, M.D., a well-known collector of early Californiana. The expert advice of Warren R. Howell and Gary F. Kurutz aided its preparation, and Chauncey D. Leake edited the manuscript. Doctor Bennett arranged for photoreproduction of the original letter. A translation of the letter has also been made by Lesley Byrd Simpson, professor of Spanish at the University of California, Berkeley.

*Preferida la ocupacion del Puerto de S.^a Francisco ~
deben establecerse en sus cercanias, segun lo resuelto
en Junta de Guerra y R.^a Hacienda de 16 de Diciembre
anterior, las dos Misiones proyectadas por el P.^e Fray
Junípero Serra y representadas como precias en
varias Caxas de este Religioso y del Comandante de
los nuevos Establecimientos D. Fernando de Rive-
ra y Moncada.*

*Para cada una de ellas y su establecimiento se
resolvió tambien la asignacion de mil pesos q.^e deben
sufrir los fondos p.^ubl.^os destinados á la subvencion
del Departamento de S.^a Blas; y respecto á que con esta
fha. prevengo al Director D. Fernando Fr. Mangano
entregue los dos mil pesos al Sindico de ese Apostolico
Colegio para imbuertirlos en su destino, p.^uede v.^a pa-
sar á este el aviso conducente á su percepcion á fin
de que se cumpla lo dispuesto.*

En las Misiones de Monterey y S.^a Diego, segun ~

Bucareli's request for priority for such a settlement was approved on December 16, 1774,⁴ and, following the Christmas holidays, Bucareli informed the appropriate officials of this decision.

The letter, with its translation as published herein, is addressed to Father Guardian Fray Francisco Pangua of the Franciscan College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico.⁵ It is one of ten known to have been written by Bucareli under the date of January 2, 1775. All deal with the settlement of what is now San Francisco Bay. Five of these letters were directed to Fray Junípero Serra, Father President of the California missions; two were sent to Fernando de Rivera y Moncada; and one each was directed to Fray Francisco Hermenegildo Garces and Francisco Hijosa.⁶

Serving to set in motion the entry of Juan Manuel de

enoy informado, hay Religiosos Distantes de entre sin
perjuicio ni atraso en el Catequismo, pueden sacarse
los que se necesitan para los que han de erigirse en
las inmediaciones del Rio de S.^{to} Francisco, y en nues-
supuesto ruego y encargo á V. R. expida las ordenes que
juzgue oportunas á que así se verifique.

Dios guarde á V. R. m. a Mexico 2 de
Enero de 1775.

Atte. Fr. Antonio Bucarely

Yusep

R. Guardian del Colegio
App. de S. Fernando.

Translation of Bucarely's Letter

The occupation of the Port of San Francisco being preferred in accord with the resolution of the Council of War and Royal Treasury of 16 December last, the two missions should be founded in its vicinity, as proposed by Father Fray Junípero Serra and as represented as being necessary in several letters of this religious, as well as those of the Commandant of the new establishments, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

For each mission and its foundation it was also resolved that one thousand pesos be set aside from the account of the Pious Funds assigned to the Department of San Blas. In this regard, under this date, I am advising Director Don Fernando Joseph Nabiginos that the two thousand pesos be delivered to the Syndic of that Apostolic College to expend them accordingly. Your Reverence may inform relative to this matter so that he may comply with this resolution.

At the missions of Monterey and San Diego, according to my understanding, there are sufficient religions that, without prejudice to, nor delay in, the teaching of the Catechism, those needed for the two missions to be established in the vicinity of the River of San Francisco may be transferred from them. In accord with this supposition, I beg and charge your Reverence to issue the orders which you deem necessary to carry out this transfer.

God keep your Reverence many years. Mexico, 2 January, 1775.

El Bailio Frey Antonio Bucarely y Ursúa
Reverend Father Guardian of the
Apostolic College of San Fernando.

Ayala into San Francisco Bay in 1775, as well as the actual founding of San Francisco in 1776, these previously unpublished letters are of considerable historical importance.

Notes

1. Born in Sevilla; died in office in Mexico; Viceroy of New Spain, 1771-1779; Bailio (Commander) of the Order of San Juan.
2. Born 1725 in Compestela, Nayarit; killed at Yuma in 1781; Commandant of the Presidio of Loreto, 1750-1774; Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, 1774-1777; Commandant of the Presidio of Loreto, 1777-1781.
3. See Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), V: 234-237; Theodore E. Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), *passim*.
4. Bolton, *Expeditions*, V: 249-258; Treutlein, *San Francisco Bay*,

129-134. The Council supervised the expenditures of the Pious Fund, originally established by the Society of Jesus in 1696, to support the California missions through private donations.

5. Father Pangua was elected Father Guardian on May 14, 1774, and served until May 24, 1777; he was reelected to the post in 1780. The College of San Fernando was the Franciscan institution charged with the operation of the California missions in 1768.
6. A one-folio copy of this document is located in Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico, Clero Regular y Secular, tomo 55. A xerox copy is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, document 499. Other copies are located in Museo Nacional and Archive General de la Nacion, Mexico City. See Maynard Geiger, *Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), II: 435.
7. Superintendent of the Mint; member of the Council of the Treasury; cofounder of the Academy of San Carlos, 1785.

Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush

In January, 1851, a miner named Luther Schaeffer encamped at Grass Valley near a village of Southern Maidu he identified as members of the "Digger tribe." Schaeffer set about his business of prospecting and digging for gold. Women from the village continued gathering wild onions and digging for tender roots. As Schaeffer and the Indian women worked alongside each other, each involved in the same kind of work but each seeking a different treasure from the soil, a curious thing happened. They all started laughing. The Indian women laughed heartily at Schaeffer's incessant digging and washing of the dirt, pursuing what to them may have seemed just another kind of rock. Schaeffer, in turn, was also amused at seeing the women so entertained and probably thought it incredible that they should spend their time digging for roots and onions when the ground might contain a fortune in gold.¹

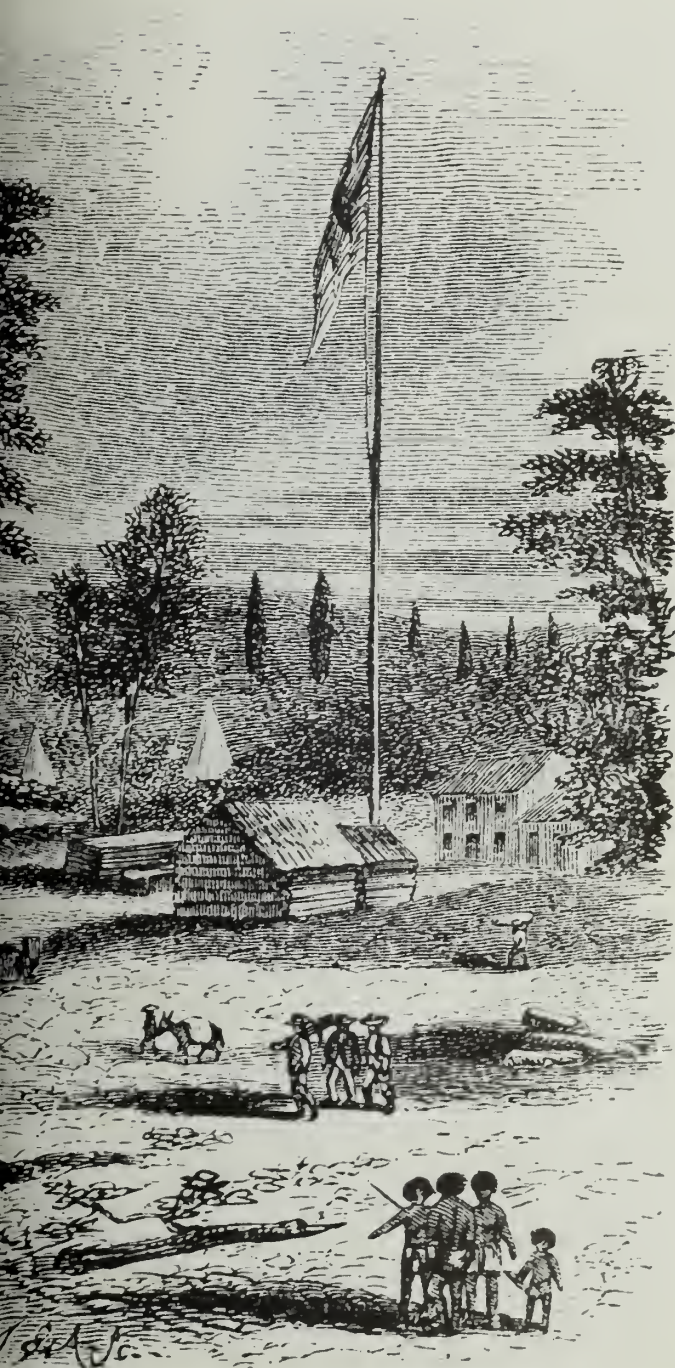
This scene clearly illustrates the relativity of cultural values. It also raises the historical question: what role did Indians play in the California gold rush? Did they remain as uninvolved and impervious to the allure of gold as the reaction of these Maidu women suggests? Our traditional understanding of Indian and white relations during the gold rush emphasizes racial conflict and hostility; each side viewed the other as an obstacle. White mining activities interfered with the natives' access to essential food sources, and Indian "depredations" impeded the whites' access to mineral wealth. While this may be an accurate characterization of relations in the later period, it is inadequate for understanding the earliest days on the California mining frontier.

To a remarkable extent California Indians participated in the gold rush as miners. One government report estimated in 1848 that *more than half* of the gold diggers in the California mines were Indians.² At first many Indian miners worked as laborers for white Californians. For decades prior to the discovery of gold, Indian labor had been the basis of the regional economy; then in 1848 the Hispanic system of labor exploitation was transferred from the ranchos to the mines. Indian miners also labored as independent agents and traded their gold to white merchants for a variety of goods. As the state

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began to fill with thousands of newcomers—most of whom had had no prior contact with the Hispanic system—hostilities between Indians and whites increased. By the early 1850's few Indian miners were left in the gold fields.

From the outset the Indian people of California played an important role in the gold rush. When James Marshall set out to select a site for Sutter's sawmill in May, 1847, he was led by an Indian guide up the American River to a Maidu village site known as "Kolo-ma." The site had an abundance of timber and the necessary water supply and offered the possibility of a direct route back to Sutter's fort. Marshall also may have selected the Coloma site because of the availability of nearby Indian labor. About half of the laborers at the mill were Indians.³ One of Marshall's white assistants, Peter Wimmer, was assigned the task of supervising eight or ten of these Indians in digging out the mill race.⁴ Another white associate, James S. Brown, operated a whipsaw with an Indian worker and also shared in superintending the Indians in the mill race.⁵ As Brown later recalled:

Part of the time I was engaged in directing the labors of a gang of Digger Indians, as I had picked up sufficient (*sic*) of their dialect to make them understand me clearly. It had been customary to hoist the gates of the forebay when we quit work in the evening, letting the water through the race to wash away the loosened sand and gravel, then close them down in the morning. The Indians were employed to dig and cast out the cable rock that was not moved by the water.⁶

Controversy has always surrounded the exact circumstances of the discovery of gold at the mill. Although Marshall's claim that he himself found the first particles of gold in the mill race on January 24, 1848, has been generally accepted, it is not unreasonable to suggest that a California Indian should be given credit for that momentous discovery. We know that Indians led the Marshall party to the mill site and that Indian workers were responsible for digging the mill

In this early engraving of Sutter's Mill, Indian presence is suggested by the group of natives in the right foreground. Workers from a nearby Southern Maidu ranchería assisted in construction of the mill and were on hand for the gold discovery in January, 1848. The following spring several members of the ranchería were executed at Coloma.

race and removing the debris—working, that is, at the very spot where the first gold was found. Historian H. H. Bancroft recorded one version of the gold discovery—a version to which he attached no credence—that placed a California native, one “Indian Jim,” in the leading role. According to this account, the Indian discovered in the race a nugget “as large as a brass button” which he gave to a white workman who in turn showed it to Marshall. Apparently the Indian workers were close at hand at the moment of discovery. According to Bancroft’s reconstruction of the event, Marshall’s first act after noticing the metal particles was to send an Indian to his cabin to bring a tin plate in which to wash the dirt and separate out the gold.⁷ Marshall himself later recalled that at the discovery his laborers, “white and Indian,” had collected the first particles.⁸

In the flush times immediately following the discovery of gold at Coloma, Indian laborers were a common sight in the California mines. Narratives of mining life in 1848 and 1849 frequently referred to groups of Indians who were “controlled” or “owned” or “employed” by whites. Compensation was often identical to the system of Indian peonage which had existed on the ranchos of Hispanic California—food and clothing in exchange for labor.⁹ Apparently some Indians also received a daily wage for their labor in the mines. Henry Simpson’s questionable *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines* (1848) reported that most of the Indian miners “work by the day for some employer, who furnishes them with food, and pays a regular per diem—sometimes as much as twenty dollars a day, but more generally at the rate of an ounce and a half of gold, the current rate of which is from \$10 to \$12 per ounce.”¹⁰ It is doubtful whether this generous wage scale was widely adopted by employers of Indian labor. Probably more realistic was Bayard Taylor’s estimate that in the latter half of 1849 many whites in California were employing Indian miners at the rate of “a dollar daily.”¹¹ In May of the following year Thomas J. Green, major general of the California militia, criticized the white miners who were monopolizing Indian labor by giving them a little calico and food. “This is not only wrong,” Green announced, “but highly disgraceful, when they would be content with the pay of one-fourth of the wages of a white man.”¹² Indeed, most Indian miners had to be content with a good deal less.

How many Indian miners were there in the early days of



This simple drawing of Indian gold-seekers appeared in one of the earliest printed accounts of gold-rush California, the bogus “first-hand” report of Henry I. Simpson, *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines* (1848). “We arose early the next morning,” wrote Simpson, “and after a hurried meal, went down to the place where the men were at work. There were some forty odd of them, mostly Indians; many of them had waded out nearly up to their waists, with their pans and baskets full of earth, which they were washing by dipping them into the stream, and draining them alternately.”

the gold rush? The *Monterey Californian* reported on August 1, 1848, that "there are probably 3000 people, including Indians, engaged in collecting gold." Slightly more helpful was one argonaut's estimate that around the beginning of 1849 "thousands" of Indians were employed by whites in gathering gold.¹³ James Clyman claimed that by December, 1848, there were two thousand whites "and more than double that number of Indians" at work in the mines.¹⁴ Albert Lyman, a member of the Connecticut Mining and Trading Company, commented that "within three months after the discovery, it was computed that there were nearly four thousand persons, including Indians, who were mostly employed by whites, engaged in washing for gold."¹⁵

The computation referred to by Lyman was probably that made by Colonel Richard B. Mason in his official report to the adjutant general in August, 1848. Mason estimated that of the four thousand men then working in the gold districts more than half were Indians.¹⁶ Mason's report was one of the earliest and most complete accounts of the use of Indian labor in the mines, and it also proved to be a prime contemporary source of information about life in gold-rush California. In addition to its appearance as a government document in 1848, it was published in at least half a dozen other forms within a year.¹⁷ The report was based on a tour of the mining regions made by Mason and then Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman in June of 1848. Throughout the areas they toured, Mason and Sherman reported finding an extensive system of Indian labor exploitation.

At one of their first stops, the Mormon Diggings on the South Fork of the American River, Mason's party encountered both whites and Indians at work washing for gold with tin pans and willow baskets.¹⁸ On a tributary to the American, Weber's Creek, Mason reported that a party of Spanish-speaking miners, known as Suñol and Company, "had about thirty Indians employed, whom they pay in merchandise." Farther up the stream Mason observed "a great many people and Indians" working the bed of the stream and in the small valleys along its edge. In one of these valleys Mason learned that two men, William Daylor and Perry McCoon, had extracted \$17,000 worth of gold. "Captain Weber informed me," Mason reported, "that he knew these two men had employed four white men and about a hundred Indians, and that, at the end of one week's work, they paid off their party

and had left \$10,000 worth of this gold." Mason's informant, Charles M. Weber, was himself one of the largest and most successful employers of Indian labor in the mines. Profits similar to those of Daylor and McCoon were also being reaped by John Sinclair on the North Fork of the American River. Sinclair employed about fifty Indians to gather gold in their closely-woven baskets, and Mason estimated his net proceeds at around \$16,000. Farther north on the Feather River, Mason reported that a mining company with fifty Indian washers had extracted 273 pounds of gold in about seven weeks.¹⁹

The individuals named in Mason's report were typical of the men who had immigrated to Hispanic California in the previous decade and who had quickly realized the advantages of the Mexican system of Indian labor exploitation. Although evidence is incomplete for the operations of many of these early California pioneers, it appears that most had taken their Indian laborers directly from the ranchos to the mining districts. This process was alluded to by one forty-niner who commented that "the Indians on the ranchos in California are considered as stock and are sold with it as cattle, and the purchaser has the right to work them on the rancho, or take them into the mines."²⁰ Naturally those whites who were already in California and were able to control a body of Indian laborers had a great advantage in the months following the discovery of gold.

That the Californios did not fail to grasp this opportunity is indicated by Mason's mention of the company of Spanish-born Antonio María Suñol on the American River. Suñol, a prominent *ranchero* of the San Francisco Bay Area, began mining operations in 1848, taking with him more than a score of his Indian workers.²¹ Echoing Mason's description of Suñol and Company, Henry Simpson commented, "These gentlemen employ about thirty Indians, and pay them principally in merchandise of various kinds."²² Another party of Californios, which included members of the Coronel and Sepúlveda families, organized a mining expedition in August, 1848. Information and gold provided by Indians in the mining districts, as well as the labor of Indian workers taken with them, contributed significantly to the success of their operations.²³ Leonard Pitt has estimated that about 1,300 Californios mined gold in 1848, but the number that depended upon Indian labor is unknown.²⁴

One name which figured prominently in Mason's report

was that of Charles M. Weber. Weber, an overland immigrant with the Bidwell-Bartleson party of 1841, had worked for Sutter before acquiring a rancho of his own near the present site of Stockton. According to E. Gould Buffum, a member of Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers, Weber began mining early in 1848 on Weber's Creek near Dry Diggings (later known as Placerville). "He carried with him articles of trade," Buffum recalled, "and soon gathered around him a thousand Indians, who worked for him in consideration of the necessities of life and of little trinkets that so win an Indian's heart. He was soon joined by William Dalor [Daylor], a *ranchero* near Sutter's Fort, and the two together with the labor of the Indians, soon realized fifty thousand dollars."²⁵

Sometime in the summer of 1848 Weber and several other whites formed the Stockton Mining Company. Fundamental to the company's success was Weber's ability to secure the services of Indian laborers. Consequently, Weber entered into an agreement with a group of northern Valley Yokuts whose *ranchería* was not far from his rancho. Weber and the headman of the *ranchería*, José Jesús, agreed that in exchange for any gold the Indians could discover the company would give them clothing or other merchandise. A number of Yokuts accompanied Weber to the diggings near Placerville to learn the techniques of mining, while the rest began searching for gold in the Calaveras-Stanislaus region. As it turned out, these Indians were successful in locating some of the richest auriferous areas in California. They discovered gold on Carson's Creek and on Wood's Creek, the first discoveries made in what would be called the Southern Mines.²⁶ James Carson, one of the earliest whites to benefit from these discoveries, later recalled that the Indians had given "leading information" to Weber and company "so that they were enabled to know the direction in which new discoveries were to be made."²⁷ Carson himself later was led by Indians to a site on the creek which bears his name where, according to his own account, he was able to pan out 180 ounces of gold in ten days. The strikes in the Southern Mines proved so rich that by August, 1848, the Stockton Mining Company had moved its entire Indian labor force to the Stanislaus.²⁸

One member of Weber's company soon began his own independent mining operations on the Stanislaus. John M. Murphy, an overland pioneer with the Stevens party in 1844,

was able to acquire a small fortune in 1848 and 1849 at what is now called Murphys Camp in Calaveras County.²⁹ Walter Colton, in his *Three Years in California* (1850), described Murphy's lucrative operations. "His tent is pitched in the midst of a small tribe of wild Indians," wrote Colton, "who gather gold for him, and receive in return provisions and blankets. He knocks down two bullocks a day to furnish them with meat."³⁰ William Redmond Ryan also included a portrait of Murphy in his account of California life in 1848-49. Ryan estimated the number of Indians, probably Miwok for the most part, at Murphy's to include some 600 men. Murphy furnished them clothing and other necessities "in return for their services in digging gold for him." Ryan indicated the success of Murphy's arrangement by concluding, "I saw here a very fine specimen of the ore, weighing about five pounds, and which one of the Indian miners had picked out with a common sheath-knife."³¹ Both Ryan and Colton also commented that one of the factors in Murphy's successful control of this large body of Indian laborers was his marriage to the daughter of a local Miwok leader.

Another major employer of Indian labor mentioned in Mason's report was John Sinclair. Sinclair had arrived in California in 1839 and, like Weber, had worked for Sutter before becoming a *ranchero* himself. Sometime around the first of June, 1848, Sinclair had removed to the gold fields, taking with him some forty of his "peaceable and useful" Indian workers. He and the Indians had been at work about five weeks when Mason came upon them on the North Fork of the American River. As standard practice on the rancho, the workers received food as compensation for their labor as gold diggers. Sherwood's *Pocket Guide to California* (1849) and Wyld's *Guide to the Gold Country of California* (1849) both reported that Sinclair gave his Indian miners meat, sugar, coffee, flour, and rice, and that they ate three times a day.³² Henry Vizetelly's *Four Months among the Gold Finders* (1849) indicated that the Indians who belonged to Sinclair "worked hard, were well fed, and had liberal rations of 'strong water' daily." Vizetelly also noted that Sinclair's workers had gathered sixteen pounds troy of fine washed gold dust.³³ Obviously Sinclair's operations continued to be "remunerative." Even after deducting whatever costs were entailed in keeping his laborers well fed, he could report to Col. Mason a profit of \$16,000 after little over a month's work in the mines.

Weber, Murphy, and Sinclair were not the only California pioneers who successfully transferred their operations from the ranchos to the placers. Although not mentioned in Mason's report, other leading rancheros in this class included John Marsh, James Bidwell, and Pierson B. Reading. Marsh left his Rancho Los Medanos in 1848 for a brief visit to the gold fields above Marysville. While there he was able to procure from the Indians a large quantity of gold dust in exchange for sugar, cloth, and beads.³⁴ Meanwhile, John Bidwell visited Sutter's mill in March, 1848, and was struck with the similarity of the gravels there to those near his own rancho in the upper Sacramento Valley. He returned north and, accompanied by a group of his native laborers, began working the bars of the Feather River.³⁵ Bidwell and his Indian miners were still at work in late September and early October when an immigrant from Oregon passed through the Feather River area. The Oregonian later recalled that Bidwell and three other whites "were working Indians in the mines at Bidwell's Bar washing gold in wooden bowls which had been dug out for that purpose."³⁶

Shortly after Bidwell's visit to Coloma in March, Pierson Reading traveled down to inspect the scene at Sutter's mill. Reading, who had emigrated overland to California in the Chiles-Walker party of 1843, was the grantee of the northernmost rancho in California. After his brief visit to the mill, he returned to his ranch at the north end of the Sacramento Valley and, taking his "domesticated Indians" with him, began mining operations on Clear Creek.³⁷ In July, Reading crossed over the mountains west of the valley and began working the waters of the Trinity River at a spot subsequently known as Reading's Bar. As Reading later recalled, his party included three whites, one Delaware, one Walla Walla, one Chinook and "about sixty Indians from the Sacramento Valley. With this force I worked the bar bearing my name."³⁸

Indian mining activities in the California gold rush were not limited to laboring for white employers. Indians also became independent miners and bartered as free agents with whites for a variety of trade goods. The difference between "employed" and "independent" miners was sometimes a subtle one, for white traders often established an exploitive influence over their Indian customers.³⁹ Nevertheless, gold rush narratives frequently made a distinction between the



Young Samuel Ward, later a prominent congressional lobbyist from New York, was impressed with the technique of Indian miners he observed along the Merced River in 1849. "Generally the members of a wigwam kept together in their own watery pew; the father scooping into his batea the invisible mud and sand of the river bed, and the mother bearing it to the shore to perform those skillful gyratory manipulations by which the water is made to carry away from the shaken and rotated pan the earthy matter until after perhaps a hundred dippings and five times as many revolutions there remain at the bottom of the pan the yellow spangels surrendered by the incongruous mass and now glittering upon an enamel of black sand."

two, and some accounts suggested that the "independents" became more plentiful as Indians gained a clearer understanding of the value white men placed on gold. William G. Johnston, for instance, commented that in July, 1849, the area around Placerville hosted a large number of independent Indian miners. "Each carried a neatly-made willow basket, for washing gold, instead of the tin pan ordinarily used by miners. A few months prior to this, we were told, thousands of these Indians were employed by the whites in gold gathering, and for the service rendered had been fed and blanketed, besides being supplied with gew-gaws of trifling value. Acquiring, however, a knowledge concerning gold dust, by seeing what could be purchased with it at the stores, they had of late been setting up business for themselves."⁴⁰ Likewise James Delavan noted in 1850 that the California Indians "were for a long time employed to gather for the rancheros, until they became wise enough to set up for themselves. . . ."⁴¹

A few of the pioneer rancheros shifted their style of operations to accommodate the growing independence of the Indian miners. John Bidwell, for example, who had at first worked the placers of the Feather River with native workmen from his rancho, later found it more practicable to open and operate a trading post to which independent Indian miners could bring their gold to exchange for merchandise.⁴²

Sometimes the trading arrangements would be casual; a white man might come upon some Indian diggers and offer to trade for their gold, or Indians might approach white men and make an offer to trade. John Swan, a British sailor who had arrived in California in 1843, recalled that he and his companions were approached by an Indian in 1848 who wished to sell his gold dust. One of Swan's companions gladly agreed to buy some of the dust at \$8 an ounce.⁴³ Likewise Antonio Coronel and his party were confronted in August, 1848, by some Indian miners (probably Central Miwok) along the Stanislaus River who were interested in trading their gold. "A little before sunset," Coronel recalled, "there arrived at our camp seven tame Indians, each one with little sacks of gold shaped like sausages, of an average length of ten to twelve inches." The Indians indicated an interest in Coronel's saddle blankets. "They were used and dirty and their value when new," admitted Coronel, "had been two pesos each." Then,

One of the Indians took one of them and pointed to the sack filled

with gold; he pointed out on a certain spot as the amount he was offering for the blanket. There was then in that area no way to acquire anything to replace that blanket so I refused the offer of the Indian. He increased it in the same manner, lowering the place where he pressed on the sack with his thumb; I refused again. He increased again and then one of my servants asked me why I did not give it to him—that he would make some saddle blankets of grass.

I took a tin plate that we had and the Indian emptied the gold into it, and after giving him the blanket I weighed it; there were seven and one quarter ounces—the first gold from the gold mines of California that I obtained.⁴⁴

As astounding as Coronel's bargain might appear, it was not unusual. Indeed, an Anglo miner by the name of William Perkins later sold blankets to California Indians for ten to twelve ounces of gold a piece!⁴⁵

Early gold rush narratives commonly observe that the California Indians were at first unaware of the true value (to the whites) of the gold they were trading. Whites seemed almost to compete with each other to see who could make (or at least relate) the most lopsided deals with Indians. Dr. William M'Collum, in his *California as I Saw it* (1850), noted that many "half civilized or Mission Indians" were working in the mines and very freely spending their gold for items brought in by whites. "One of our party happened to have in his trunk," M'Collum recalled, "a pair of beaded moccasins, such as are sold at Niagara Falls. Two Indians got their eyes on them—the price was fixed at an ounce (\$16); both claimed the bargain, and the difficulty had to be settled by separating the moccasins each paying an ounce."⁴⁶ Exchanging beads for gold was often mentioned by forty-miners as a popular means of plying the Indian trade. Peter Decker recorded in his diary account of mining along the Feather River in 1850 that "when these Indians have Gold dust they carry it among their bush hair tied in rags &c. and cannot appreciate the value of it. Have given a lb of gold for a lb of fancy beads."⁴⁷ Similar terms were described in Theodore T. Johnson's *Sights in the Gold Region* (1849). Johnson noted that a "short fat Dutchman, named Smidt" had amassed a considerable amount of gold through trade with the Indians. He sold glass beads to Indians for gold, weight for weight.⁴⁸ Beads continued to be a popular trade item in the mines through at least 1851. The *Sacramento Union* reported in June of that year that a tremendous business was being done in supplying beads to white



Near the center of this crowded scene stand three Indian miners, probably Miwok, holding what appear to be pans or shallow baskets. "The Indians endured greater hardships," recalled San Ward, "but also experienced greater compensating joys. The delirium of 'treasure trove' often fired his brain, and the hope of finding it often sustained him through days of patient toil . . . The aptitude of the savages—men, women and children—for this delicate mechanical operations surpassed any exhibition I witnessed of the skill of white miners. . . ."

traders who were exchanging them for gold from Indians along the Cosumnes River.⁴⁹

Whites who established regular trading posts and general merchandise stores in the mining regions benefited the most from the willingness of Indian miners to trade their gold. Luther Schaeffer, in his *Sketches of Travels* (1860), remarked on the lucrative trade of merchants in the Nevada City area in 1849. "Whenever an Indian visited a trading establishment," wrote Schaeffer, "the most gaudy colored handkerchiefs, calicos, &c., were shown him. Indians never value money; and I have seen them enter a store, put down their gold dust, and keep on buying until the storekeeper would call out, 'all gone'."⁵⁰ James Carson recalled similar scenes in his account of the growth of commerce between Indian miners and white traders. "In the early days of gold digging,"

Carson wrote in 1852, "these Indians looked on in wonder at the exertions of the white men to procure from the rivers and gulches things not to be eaten, but they, following the example of the whites, soon procured some for themselves and found that they could barter it for provisions and clothes." Carson was mildly critical of the traders who took unfair advantage of their Indian customers. The Indians, Carson believed, often became in effect the slaves of the white traders. Because the Indian miners "had no idea of the value of gold" they were willing to give to unscrupulous merchants all the gold they had for items which were worth (to the white man) very little. "Thus it was that traders often received for a gaudy colored handkerchief, a fancy string of beads, or a red sash, from fifty to five hundred dollars."⁵¹

As the independent Indian miners acquired a finer appre-

Indian workers were commonly employed by white miners in the early phase of the gold rush. Here two native workmen assist in assembling a flume.

ciation of the value white men placed on gold, however, they became increasingly able traders. "When the gold was first discovered," Gould Buffum explained, "they had very little conception of its value, and would readily exchange handfuls of it for any article of food they might desire, or any old garment gaudy enough to tickle their fancy. Latterly, however, they have become more careful, and exhibit a profounder appreciation of the worth of the precious metal."⁵² Just how cautious the Indians came to be in their dealings with the traders is indicated in Buffum's description of the Indian miners around Placerville.

When they desire to make any purchases from a dealer they usually go in a party of ten or twelve, and range themselves in a circle, sitting on the ground, a few yards distant from the shop, and then in a certain order of precedence, known to themselves, but not laid down in the learned Selden, they proceed to the counter in rotation, and make their purchases, as follows: placing on the palm of the hand a small leaf or piece of paper, on which is perhaps a tea-spoonful of gold dust, the Indian stalks up to the dealer, and pointing at his *dust* in hand, and then at whatever article he may desire, gives a peculiar grunt—*Ugh!*—which is understood to mean an offer; if the dealer shakes his head, the Indian retires, and returns with a little more gold dust, going through the same ceremony continually until a sufficient amount is offered, when the dealer takes and hands over the coveted article.⁵³

James Carson also recalled how easy it was to obtain gold from Indian miners making "their first trades." "But this state of things did not continue long," Carson added. "Old Mission Indians informed them that the whites sold to each other by *ounces* and *pesos*, and that they could get more if they would have their gold weighed."⁵⁴

The increasing commercial sophistication of the California Indians did not, however, preclude their further exploitation by the merchants. As Indians began to demand that their gold be weighed before trading, special "Indian prices" were adopted by the traders: calico, \$20 per yard; plain white blankets, six ounces each; serapes, up to 30 ounces each; and beads for an equal weight in gold. In addition to specially inflated prices for their Indian customers, the merchants adopted a special lead slug—a so-called "Digger ounce"—to stand for a one-ounce weight.⁵⁵ "With many traders, in those days," Carson wrote in 1852, "weighing gold for Indians and white people was a different matter; honesty, generosity, and justice

marked their every transaction with the Christian, but they had weights and prices for the Indians."⁵⁶ Apparently as early as 1848 merchants had accommodated themselves to those Indians who required their gold be weighed and measured before trading. Chester Lyman commented in his journal in October, 1848, on the operations of white traders in the gold fields: "From the Indians all sorts of prices are taken & much deception is practiced." He added, "A common practice is to use a two oz weight for an oz &c."⁵⁷

One of the most interesting discussions of the cheating of Indian miners appeared in William Kelly's *An Excursion to California* (1851). Kelly, a British forty-niner who was generally cynical about life in the Far West, described a trading post on the American River, at which Indian miners were separated from their gold by a variety of devices, including deceptive weighing systems and dilution of their whiskey. Kelly's presence during these transactions prompted the storekeeper to offer some justification for his proceedings. What he had to say—or rather what Kelly reported he said—may have been typical of the attitude of many of the merchants toward the California Indians.

'You know . . . no Christian man is bound to give full value to those infernal red-skins; they are onsoffisticated vagabones and have no more bissness with money than a mule or a wolf; they've no religion, and tharfore no consciences, so I deals with them accordin.'—'But,' I replied, not caring to get into an ethical controversy with so undiluted a reprobate, 'I believe your missionaries have already begun to enlighten them, and are making preparations on a large scale to convert and bring them into the Christian fold.'—'No doubt they have,' he said; 'but it is time enough for men in trade to oncourage them when they laarn the truths of the gospel.'⁵⁸

In contrast to the frequent comment on the unscrupulous practices of the white merchants, the California Indians were often described as being notably scrupulous in their dealings with the shopkeepers. James Carson, for instance, observed that in spite of the special arrangements, which were "enough to make a white man blush," the Indian gold miner would regard the system of scales and ounces as perfectly fair "and would pile on gold until the scales would exactly balance, using every precaution that he gave no more than the precise weight."⁵⁹ Likewise, William Ryan noted that the Indians on the Stanislaus were "extremely punctilious in their dealings" with white traders.⁶⁰ And whatever advantages the white



merchants might take of the Indians in the Northern Mines, Luther Schaeffer reported that the Indians there were fair and honest in their dealings with the merchants. "These Indians were generally men of truth," Schaeffer commented. "Whenever an Indian requested a garment to be laid aside for him it was done, for the merchant felt sure that he would return on the promised day."⁶¹

That the profits of the Indian trade were high is well illustrated by the career of James D. Savage. Savage has often been viewed as a mysterious figure in California history, but when he is placed in the context of his fellow white traders he does not appear quite so unusual. Savage came overland to California in 1846, worked for a time at Sutter's fort, and in the fall of 1847 moved up the Merced River where he began life as an Indian trader. He apparently married several Kokut women and gained a position of some power over the Chowchilla. Thus, when gold was discovered a few months later, Savage was able to command a considerable body of Indian labor. In addition to his original store on the Merced, Savage also set up trading posts on the Mariposa and Fresno rivers. In 1849 Savage, in partnership with other whites, had claims on the Tuolumne River near Jamestown and in the Big Oak Flat mining district. In all his operations he depended upon the labor of Indian miners.⁶²

Savage was probably no more nor less scrupulous in his dealings with his Indian customers than the average trader in the mines. More than one forty-niner witnessed Savage trading to Indians equal weights of goods for gold.⁶³ Estimates of his profits from this trade were extremely high. Benjamin Butler Harris, a forty-niner from Texas, pointed out that Savage's Indian miners, "numbering thousands, were earliest in prospecting and finding the shiny metal." His practice of trading food and blankets for Indian gold led Harris to estimate that Savage's profits per day often amounted to \$10,000 or \$20,000.⁶⁴ Another contemporary observer, Indian agent Oliver M. Wozencraft, estimated that Indian miners gave to Savage gold worth between \$400,000 and \$500,000.⁶⁵

By the early 1850's, this profitable trade with independent Indian miners had virtually disappeared. Indeed, after the mid-century mark descriptions of any Indian miners—"independent" or "employed"—are rare.⁶⁶ One of the reasons for the decline in the number of Indian miners may have been the change in the type of mining being done in California. In the flush times the bulk of the gold taken from California was from the shallow placer deposits. During this early period only the most primitive technology was necessary, and whites and Indians alike were able to gather great quantities of gold

with little difficulty. As the placers became exhausted, mining became more difficult. Placer mining gave over to tertiary mining, hydraulic mining, and quartz mining, each of which required equipment, capital, and skills unavailable to California Indians.⁶⁷

Several gold rush narratives commented on this change and associated it with the disappearance of the Indian miners. David Rohrer Leeper, in his recollections of mining in El Dorado County in the summer of 1850, described the Indians as "frequent visitors" to the mining camps. "While the placers were plenty, shallow, and easily worked," he explained, "they did a good deal of spasmodic mining." Using pans and wooden bowls a "half dozen or more of them would dig and wash diligently for two or three hours, when they would hie themselves off to the nearest store or trading-post to spend the proceeds."⁶⁸ Descriptions of this same area some two years later indicated that as the placers began to play out and mining became more difficult, the number of Indian miners diminished. In contrast to Leeper's description of Indians engaged in a "good deal" of mining in 1850, Austin Clark commented that the Indians he observed there in 1852 "seldom worked." Their mining activities were limited to an occasional panning "through some placer claim that had been worked and abandoned, thus gathering a few dollars. . . ."⁶⁹ Likewise J. D. Borthwick commented that the Indians around Placerville in 1852 "might be seen occasionally in unfrequented placers washing out a panfull of dirt, but they had no idea of systematic work."⁷⁰ These images stand in contrast not only to those in Leeper's account just two years earlier, but even more dramatically to the reports of Charles Weber's activities and employees in the area in 1848.

Perhaps the fundamental reason for the disappearance of the Indian miners was that after 1849 the gold fields of California came to be dominated by men who had had no prior contact with the Hispanic system of Indian labor exploitation. Many of these newcomers to California were men who, from experiences on other American frontiers or in crossing the plains to California, had come to regard Indians as threats to their physical safety or as obstacles in the path to their economic success. The newcomers also manifested a jealous opposition to the whites already in California who were able to control or otherwise exploit the labor of Indian miners. Such exploitation was viewed by the new Californians as an unfair advantage in the pursuit of California gold. This hostility, it

is well known, was also expressed toward white southerners who attempted to bring black slaves to work their claims.⁷¹ A similar opposition was manifest toward the pioneer Californians and their scores of Indian miners.

In seeking the origins of the breakdown of the old order of Indian-white relations and the growth of the fatal spirit of enmity between the forty-niners and Indians, it is useful to examine the experiences of the first miners who came into the state after the gold discovery. Some of the first men outside of California to respond to the news of the discovery came from Oregon Territory.⁷² In the summer of 1848 pioneer settlers in the Willamette Valley and elsewhere began making preparations to leave for the gold regions, and by August of 1848 the first Oregon argonauts had arrived in California.

Passing through the northern part of the state, the Oregonians encountered parties of California pioneers at work with their Indian miners. One of the first such encounters occurred in early August at Reading's Bar on the Trinity River. There Pierson B. Reading and his sixty Indians had been at work for over a month. In a scene that was to be repeated many times over the next few months, the miners from the outside expressed opposition to the Californians' labor system. Reading later recalled his encounter with the Oregon miners: "After about six week's work, parties came in from Oregon who at once protested against my Indian labor. I then left the stream and returned to my home. . . ."⁷³ By the end of September or the beginning of October Oregonians had reached the mines of the Feather River, where John Bidwell and several other whites were washing gold with their Indian laborers. In this instance there is no record of the Oregonians protesting the labor arrangements at Bidwell's Bar, perhaps because the newcomers were treated with great courtesy and given careful instruction on how to wash for gold.⁷⁴ With this new knowledge the Oregon men moved farther south to the rich diggings in the heart of the Mother Lode country.

The following spring an incident occurred which—like the protest over Reading's Indian laborers—darkly foreshadowed the pattern of events to come. A party of Oregon miners prospecting on the American River in about March, 1849, came upon a ranchería of Southern Maidu. Although reports of what happened next are contradictory, it is likely that the Oregon men raped some of the Maidu women. When several Indian men attempted to interfere, they were summarily shot by the miners. Shortly after a group of five



This Charles Nahl engraving depicts the breakdown of friendly relations between white miners and Indians. As hostilities increased, the role of Indian miners diminished.

Oregonians was attacked by a party of Indians at a spot on the Middle Fork of the American River later known as Murderer's Bar, and all five miners were killed. Other Oregon men then banded together and sought retaliation by attacking a village of Indians near Weber's Creek, killing a dozen or more and taking many prisoners. Apparently several of those captured were Indians who had been employed by James Marshall and other California miners. About seven of the captured Indians were taken to Coloma and subsequently executed by the Oregonians.⁷⁵

The various versions of this incident and the reactions to it provide a case study in contrasting attitudes toward the California Indians. The incident also throws into sharp relief the origins of the mutual hostilities which would prove so subversive to the ability of the white Californians to continue their system of Indian labor exploitation.

James Marshall gave his version of the action in a first-person account published in Edward Dunbar's *The Romance of the Age; or, the Discovery of Gold* (1867) and in a biography published by Marshall but written by George Frederic Parsons, *The Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall, the Discoverer of Gold in California* (1870). Marshall pictured himself and his Indian workmen peacefully and harmoniously at work at the mill before the arrival of the Oregonians. According to Parson's biography, "These Indians had been peaceful and industrious, and he [Marshall] had obtained considerable ascendancy over the tribe by fair dealing with them on all occasions."⁷⁶ Following the arrival of the outsiders, the subsequent rapes and murders of the Indians, and the deaths of the five whites, the surviving Oregonians started out to hunt the Indians involved. In Marshall's own

abbreviated style, he reported that the Oregonians "found our friendly Indians; induced a part to come, telling them I wanted to talk to them; brought them to Coloma; picked out eight which were most friendly to me, and dismissed the others; drank plenty of whiskey; took out the eight Indians; placed them in the direction of our work-hands, whites and Indians; bid them run, commenced shooting, killed seven of the eight prisoners and one of my workhands, an Indian."⁷⁷ Parsons commented that "there was not the shadow of justification for the atrocious deed, for the whole of the slaughtered men were constantly employed as mill-hands by Marshall and his partners, and therefore could not have had anything to do with the killing of the white men at Murderer's Bar; besides which, they belonged to a different tribe from that of the hostile Indians."⁷⁸

This attack may have been a typical case of indiscriminate frontier revenge, but it is also possible that the victims were carefully chosen. The attack may have been motivated by the same hostility toward white control of Indian labor which the Oregonians had exhibited at Reading's Bar. If it was in fact the intention of the Oregonians to put an end to the Californians' labor system by intimidating their Indian workers, then the execution of the Coloma Indians was something of a success. An article in the *Placer Times and Transcript* reported in May, 1849, that Indians who had been employed as miners were abandoning the gold fields and withdrawing to their villages. They were fleeing, it was concluded, out of fear of further white attacks.⁷⁸

The hostile attitude of the Oregonians represented an obvious threat to the continuation of the exploitive practices which the Californians had so carefully nurtured. Conse-

quently, Marshall and others attempted to prevent the breakdown of their friendly relations with the Indians. One of the Oregonians present at the Coloma execution, a butcher named John E. Ross, later recalled that when Marshall "started in to advocate the cause of the Indians," another Oregonian named Everman raised his gun to shoot Marshall. "Marshall was given five minutes to leave the place," Ross remembered, "in which he gladly availed himself of (*sic*)."⁷⁹ Marshall was not the only Californian to attempt to protect the Indians from the Oregon men. According to Ross's recollections, one of the Indian captives to be executed was secreted in the house of Mrs. Peter Wimmer, the wife of Marshall's assistant at the mill.⁸⁰ Later, William Daylor, an English sailor who had come to California around 1835 and who employed 100 Indian miners, gave shelter to several Indians who had fled to his rancho on the Cosumnes to escape the Oregonians' wrath.⁸¹

From the point of view of the Oregon men, their actions in California seemed justifiable and even reasonable. Their experiences with the Indians of the Northwest had predisposed them to a hostile attitude toward all Indians. They apparently came to the conclusion that safety lay only in vigorous retaliatory or preemptory attacks on the aborigines. Indian-white relations in Oregon immediately prior to 1848 were dominated by such bloody encounters as the attack on the Whitman Mission at Walla Walla and the Cayuse war.⁸² These recent experiences, coupled with their opposition to the Californians' economically advantageous relations with the Indian miners, explain many of their actions in California. John Ross, one Oregon miner who left a record of his experiences, had been a volunteer in December, 1847, in the party of Oregon settlers organized to avenge the Whitman deaths. Eight months later he left for California. On the way south, according to Ross's recollections, his party encountered hostile Indians "at every point" until they reached the Shasta Valley in Northern California. About the hostilities around Coloma, Ross made no mention of the raping of Indian women. Rather, he mentioned that the Oregonians suffered an unprovoked attack by Indians which resulted in the death of five miners. Following this attack the Oregon men made a conscientious effort to locate the murderers, took many Indian prisoners, and from these selected five who they believed were guilty. These five they intended to try for their crimes,

but when they attempted to escape four of them were shot. Ross was puzzled that these actions should have raised the antagonism of Marshall and the other Californians. "There seemed to be a jealousy," Ross remarked, "manifested by the California miners against the Oregonians."⁸³

Early gold rush narratives often dealt harshly with the actions of the Oregon men. The defensive tone of Ross' account was probably a reaction against the criticism the Oregonians had received from other California pioneers. William M'Collum, for example, in his *California as I Saw It* (1850), discussed the usefulness of the California Indians as miners and emphasized the ease with which gold could be obtained from them. He noted that the Oregonians, however, "hunt them as they would wild beasts." "An Oregonian," M'Collum continued, "will leave a rich placer to wreak his vengeance on one of a race that he has learned to regard as his foe, by the outrages they have committed upon the whites in Oregon."⁸⁴ Theodore T. Johnson's *Sights in the Gold Region* (1849) included a narration of the events leading to the murder of the Indians at Coloma and the accompanying attacks on Indian rancherias. The Indians killed, Johnson pointed out, had not been proved guilty of any crime or of being connected in any way with the earlier attacks on the Oregon men. Yet, the Indians were shot down in cold blood.

And this is what they call fighting the Indians! A few days before only, we saw a young mountaineer wild with rage, threaten the life of an American [*Marshall?*] who had ventured to suggest, that the murders committed by these Indians were provoked by many previous murders by the whites, and that they should be avenged by the death of the *guilty* among the Indians, and not by an *indiscriminate slaughter*.

What courage is displayed by such a warfare as this, what honor is to be gained in it, and why have so many of your Oregon men shot down scores of Indians like wolves?⁸⁵

Johnson described in gory detail the Oregonians' attack on the ranchería near Weber's Creek. Among those he identified as participating in the attack was Oregonian John E. Ross. With obvious sympathy for the Indian victims, Johnson recalled the scene: "Their chief fought until shot the third time, rising each time to his knees and discharging his arrows, Ross finally killing him, cutting off his head and scalping him." Following an attack on another ranchería, Johnson described



In this panorama of mining activity along the western bank of the Sacramento River, two Indian miners are at work with a large sifting basket while a third points to a likely spot for others to dig. "Had the opportunity of seeing the mixed multitude of human being that are in this country," wrote forty-niner Walter Pigman in 1859. "The Americans take the lead, the Spanish next, then comes the poor degraded native Indian, the Chinese, the Chilean, the Mexican, and, in fact, some from every nation of the earth are to be found here. All in search of gold!"

the return of the raiders to Coloma. As the party passed by Johnson's camp, near Sutter's mill, one of the Indian hunters loosened "from his saddle bow an Indian scalp, the long, black, bristly hair clotted with blood, and tied with a leather string, by which he flung it to us." Johnson was disgusted with this spectacle and threw the scalp into the mill race.⁸⁶

The significance of the actions of the Oregonians and the subsequent growth of hostilities between the two races was not lost on contemporary observers. Before the hostilities had commenced, Indians in the mining region were most often viewed as a cheap labor force or an easy source of gold. With the rise of mutual fear and outrage, however, many Indians fled the mining camps. Their exodus meant an end—at least in the mines—to the system of labor exploitation which the Californians had transferred so successfully from the ranchos to the placers. The termination of this system was popularly attributed specifically to the presence of the newcomers from Oregon or generally to the hostilities brought on by the increase in the overall mining population. For instance, throughout J. Gould Buffum's narrative appeared discussions of the usefulness of the California Indians on the ranchos, at Sutter's fort and mill, and in the mining regions. He reported that in the summer of 1848 Weber and Daylor had a thousand Indians working for them in the area of Weber's Creek, but that after the following spring the Indian miners had virtually disappeared. He identified the tragic events at Coloma as being the essential cause of this change. "Soon after this," wrote Buffum in reference to the execution of the Indians at Sutter's mill, "several expeditions were fitted out, who scoured the country in quest of Indians, until now a redskin is scarcely ever seen in the inhabited portion of the northern mining region."⁸⁷

James Delavan also identified the events at Weber's Creek and Coloma as the beginning of the end of Indian commerce in the mines. After describing the long-standing system of Indian labor exploitation in California, Delavan commented that the coming of the Oregonians and the "bloody contest" between them and the Californian Indians had brought about a fundamental change. "In consequence of this outbreak with the natives," Delavan observed, "the trade with them, hitherto so profitable, was at an end, and many who had brought out lots of trinkets and rings of *simular* gold, in the hope of getting *bags* of the real stuff in exchange for it, found their

merchandise unsalable, and they were forced to go to the mines and dig for themselves, in order to replenish their exchequers."⁸⁸

The most perceptive discussion of the change in the nature of Indian-white relations in California appeared in the narrative of Theodore Johnson. Johnson admired the Indian policies of men such as Sutter and John Sinclair. He was impressed with the obvious advantages of a system in which native labor could be exploited with such apparent ease and profit.⁸⁹ In the mines, he observed, the Indians had continued to be useful as laborers and traders of gold dust. "Now all was changed," Johnson reported with bitterness and regret. "The late emigrants from across the mountains, and especially from Oregon, had commenced a war of extermination upon them, shooting them down like wolves, men and women and children, wherever they could find them." Assessing the events, he continued:

Some of the Indians were undoubtedly bad and needed punishment, but generally the whites were the aggressors; and as a matter of course the Indians retaliated whenever opportunities occurred; and in this way several unarmed or careless Oregonians had become, in turn, their victims. Thus has been renewed in California the war of extermination against the aborigines, commenced in effect at the landing of Columbus, and continued to this day, gradually and surely tending to the final and utter extinction of the race. And never has this policy proved so injurious to the interests of the whites, as in California.

The profitable trade with them in exchange for their gold dust is entirely at an end. Their labor once very useful, and, in fact, indispensable in a country where no other species of laborers were to be obtained at any price, and which might now be rendered of immense value by pursuing a judicious policy, has been utterly sacrificed by this extensive system of indiscriminate revenge.⁹⁰

For many white Californians, the sacrifice meant the loss of a labor system. For the California Indians, it was a sacrifice of blood.

The engraving on page 28–29 is from Frank Soulé *et al.*, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1854), p. 131; the plates on pages 33 and 39, from *Hutchings's California Magazine*, April, 1859, pp. 437 and 443; the photo on page 35, from California Department of Parks and Recreation; the photo on page 37, from California Division of Mines, Department of Conservation; and the photo on page 30 and the watercolor Kellogs & Comstock lithograph, courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Notes

1. L[uther]. M. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels in South America, Mexico and California* (New York, 1860), 118. See also James H. Carson, *Recollections of the California Mines, An Account of the Early Discoveries of Gold . . .*, Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan (Oakland, 1950), 59-60 (originally published in Stockton, 1852). The territory of the Southern Maidu is indicated in Robert F. Heizer, *Languages, Territories and Names of California Indian Tribes* (Berkeley, 1966), map 4.
Although the origins of the term "Digger" are unclear, by the 1850's most whites recognized the term as the generic label for California Indians. Its use usually implied a contemptuous denigration of native culture. Ironically, white miners also referred to themselves as "gold diggers" or just plain "diggers." The title of this article reflects this irony. See James J. Rawls, *Images of the California Indians: American Attitudes toward the Indians of California* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 60-76, 145-147; and Robert F. Heizer, ed., *They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations*, Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History No. 1 (Ramona, CA, 1974), xiv.
2. R. B. Mason to R. Jones, August 17, 1848, *H. R. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 60.
3. E. Gould Buffum, *The Gold Rush, An Account of Six Months in the California Diggings*, Preface by Oscar Lewis (London?, 1959), 80. Originally published as *Six Months in the Gold Mines . . . 1847-8-9* (Philadelphia, 1850). Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names* (Berkeley, 1969), 71. Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 79 (Washington, D.C., 1925), 394. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-1890), VI, 29-30. Bancroft added: "A mission Indian, the alcalde of the Cosumnes, is said to have been sent to solve some doubts concerning the site."
4. George Frederic Parsons, *The Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall, the Discoverer of Gold in California* (Sacramento, 1870), 81.
5. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 31.
6. James S. Brown, *Life of a Pioneer, Being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City, 1900), 96-97.
7. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 33-35. The most complete account of the controversy over the discovery appears in Rodman W. Paul, *The California Gold Discovery: Sources, Documents, Accounts and Memoirs Relating to the Discovery of Gold at Sutter's Mill* (Georgetown, CA, 1966).
8. Edward E. Dunbar, *The Romance of the Age; or, The Discovery of Gold in California* (New York, 1867), 81.
9. New York *Journal of Commerce*, August 29, 1848, cited in G. G. Foster, ed., *The Gold Regions of California: Being a Succinct Description of the . . . Gold Regions . . .* (New York, 1848), 30-31. William H. Johnston, *Experiences of a Forty-Niner* (Pittsburgh, 1892), 240. B. Schmölder, *The Emigrant's Guide to California . . .* (London, 1849?), 51-53 (originally published in German in Mainz, 1849). Peter Decker, *The Diaries of Peter Decker, Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-51*, ed. Helen S. Giffen (Georgetown, CA, 1966), 19, 190. Carson, *Recollections of the California Mines*, 59. For a discussion of the early adoption by Anglo-Americans in California of the Hispanic labor system, see James J. Rawls, "American Images of the California Indian in the Early Nineteenth Century," paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association (Seattle, 1974).
10. Henry I. Simpson, *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines, or Adventures with the Gold Diggers of California in August, 1848 . . .* (New York, 1848), 6. Although Simpson's book was something of a hoax, it was based on contemporary sources which were themselves fairly accurate. See Dale Morgan's comments in his introduction to William M'Cullom, *California as I Saw It, Pencilings by the Way of its Gold and Gold Diggers . . .*, ed. Morgan (Los Gatos, CA, 1960), 11. Carl Wheat, *Books of the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco, 1949), 189. Douglas S. Watson, "Spurious Californiana," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (March 1932), 65-68.
11. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire . . .* (New York, 1850), I, 85.
12. San Francisco *Alta California*, May 31, 1850.
13. Johnston, *Experiences of a Forty-Niner*, 240.
14. James Clyman, "Diaries and Reminiscences," ed., Charles L. Camp, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VI (March 1927), 62. Cited in S. F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization: The American Invasion, 1848-1870*, Ibero-Americana, No. 23 (Berkeley, 1943), 65. Professor Cook concludes that during 1848 and 1849 "practically the entire native population of the Sierra foothills from the Feather to the Merced must have pursued the occupation of gold mining at least sporadically."
15. Albert Lyman, *Journal of a Voyage to California, and Life in the Gold Diggings . . .* (Hartford, Conn., 1852), 142.
16. R. B. Mason to R. Jones, *H. R. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 60.
17. See for example James Wyld, *A Guide to the Gold Country of California . . .* (London, 1849). Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California . . .* (Boston and New York, 1849). J. E. Sherwood, *The Pocket Guide to California; a Sea and Land Route Book . . .* (New York, 1849). J. E. Sherwood, *California: and the Way to get There . . .* (New York, 1848). John T. Hughes, *California: its History, Population, Climate, Soil . . .* (Cincinnati, 1850). Foster, *The Gold Regions of California*. Schmölder, *Emigrant's Guide to California*.

18. R. B. Mason to R. Jones, *H. R. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, p. 57. The wide-brimmed, tightly-woven baskets of the California Indians were easily converted from their original functions to serve as basins for "panning" placer gold by Indian and white miners. This instance of white adoption of Indian technology should be added to the list in A. Irving Hallowell, "The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," *American Anthropologist*, LIX (April 1957).
19. R. B. Mason to R. Jones, *H. R. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., Doc. 1, pp. 58-62. Mason, or the government typesetter, incorrectly renders the name "Suñol" as "Lunol" and "Daylor" as "Daly."
20. [J. M. Letts], *California Illustrated: Including a Description of the Panama and Nicaragua Routes* (New York, 1852), 63.
21. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 738.
22. Simpson, *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines*, 8.
23. Antonio Franco Coronel, "Cosas de California," MS, The Bancroft Library. Translated in William Perkins, *Three Years in California: William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849-1852*, eds. Dale L. Morgan and James R. Scobie (Berkeley, 1964), 22-23. The group of Californios consisted of about thirty men and included Ramon Carillo, Narcisco Botello, Dolores Sepúlveda, Narcisco José Antonio Machada.
24. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley, 1970), 50.
25. Buffum, *The Gold Rush*, 109. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 770.
26. *San Andreas Independent*, reprinted in *Sacramento Union*, January 31, 1857. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 75-76. Lewis Publishing Co., *An Illustrated History of San Joaquin County, California . . .* (Chicago, 1890), 61. The location of the Yokuts is identified in Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 486, fig. 43.
27. Carson, *Recollections of the California Mines*, 5.
28. *San Andreas Independent*, reprinted in *Sacramento Union*, January 31, 1857. Perkins, *Three Years in California*, 14. Owen C. Coy, *In the Diggings in 'Forty-Nine* (Los Angeles, 1918), 15.
29. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 749. Gudde, *California Place Names*, 215. J. Heckendort, *Miners and Business Men's Directory . . .* (Columbia, CA, 1856), 96. Cited in Cook, *Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization*, 66.
30. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York and Cincinnati, 1850?), 277.
31. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California, in 1848-49 . . .* (London, 1850), II, 40.
32. Wyld, *A Guide to the Gold Country*, 43. Sherwood, *Pocket Guide to California*, 36. See also Theodore T. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way* (New York, 1849), 209, 218. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 721.
33. Henry Vizetelly [pseud. J. Tyrwhitt Brooks, M.D.], *California, Four Months among the Gold Finders . . .* (London, 1849), 22. Like Simpson's *Three Weeks*, Vizetelly's *Four Months* was a spurious "first-hand" account of California based on various contemporary sources. See Dale Morgan's comments in M'Collum, *California as I Saw It*, 11-12.
34. George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer: The Life Story of a Trail-blazer on Six Frontiers* (New York, 1931), 277.
35. Henry P. DeGroot, *Recollections of California Mining Life* (San Francisco, 1884), 8. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 69.
36. John E. Ross, "Narrative of an Indian Fighter," MS, The Bancroft Library, 11.
37. DeGroot, *Recollections*, 8.
38. Reading quoted in Isaac Cox, *The Annals of Trinity County*, Introduction by Owen C. Coy (Eugene, Ore., 1940), 2 (originally published in San Francisco, 1852). Reading's Sacramento Valley Indians were probably Wintun. See Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 351-390. As Reading's recollections indicated, California natives were not the only Indian people working in the mines. See also A. Hersey Dexter, *Early Days in California* (Denver, 1886); and H. S. G. Dixon to Hubert Howe Bancroft, May 1, 1875, MS, The Bancroft Library, for references to Choctaw and Cherokee miners in California.
39. This situation was not unique to California. Cf. William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago, 1961), 85.
40. Johnston, *Experiences of a Forty-Niner*, 240.
41. James Delavan, *Notes on California and the Placers, How to Get There, and What to do Afterwards*, Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan (Oakland, 1956), 55. Originally published in New York, 1850.
42. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 72.
43. John A. Swan, *A Trip to the Gold Mines of California in 1848*, ed. John A. Hussey (San Francisco, 1960), 7. In this instance the Indian miner received about the going rate for his gold dust. Indians sometimes received as little as fifty cents an ounce. For a discussion of the range of gold prices in 1848, see Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 91-92, note 13. Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Lincoln, Neb., 1947), also discusses exchange rates. Paul's otherwise excellent survey makes no mention of the presence of Indian miners in the California gold fields.
44. Coronel quoted in Perkins, *Three Years in California*, 22.
45. *Ibid.*, 186.
46. M'Collum, *California as I Saw it*, 156. See also Ryan, *Personal Adventures*, II, 41-42. Simpson, *Three Weeks in the Gold Mines*, 7.
47. Decker, *Diaries*, 174.
48. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region*, 206.
49. *Sacramento Union*, June 24, 1851. Cited in Cook, *Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization*, 66.
50. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels*, 170.
51. Carson, *Recollections*, 59-60. A typical trading post is described in Sam Ward, *Sam Ward in the Gold Rush*, ed. Carvel Collins (Stanford, 1949), 22, 53. Originally published in a New York weekly, *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, in 1861 under the pseudonym "Midas, Jr."
52. Buffum, *The Gold Rush*, 110.

53. *Ibid.*, 110-11. The Indians were probably Southern Maidu. See Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, plate 78.
54. Carson, *Recollections*, 60.
55. *Ibid.*, 61. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 92.
56. Carson, *Recollections*, 8.
57. Lyman quoted in Perkins, *Three Years in California*, 18. See also Delavan, *Notes on California*, 55. Charles Peters, *The Autobiography of Charles Peters* . . . (Sacramento, n.d.), 19.
58. William Kelly, *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada* . . . (London, 1851), II, 45.
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62. Annie R. Mitchell, "Major James D. Savage and the Tulareños," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVIII (December, 1949), 323-341. Benjamin Butler Harris, *The Gila Trail, The Texas Argonauts and the California Gold Rush*, ed., Richard H. Dillon (Norman, Okla., 1960), 20-21, 146-147. Robert Eccleston, *The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851, Diaries of Robert Eccleston: The California Gold Rush, Yosemite, and the High Sierra*, ed. C. Gregory Crampton (Salt Lake City, 1957), iii, iv, 110, 111. Paul E. Vandor, *History of Fresno County, California* . . . (Los Angeles, 1919), 77.
63. Harris, *The Gila Trail*, 147. Perkins, *Three Years in California*, 118.
64. Harris, *The Gila Trail*, 146.
65. Oliver M. Wozencraft, "Indian Affairs, 1849-1850," MS, The Bancroft Library, 2.
66. Cf. Cook, *Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization*, 67. See, however, J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London, 1857), 288-289; and John Doble, *John Doble's Journal and Letters from the Mines. Mokehumne Hill, Volcano and San Francisco, 1851-1865*, ed. Charles L. Camp (Denver, 1962), 45-46.
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68. David Rohrer Leeper, *The Argonauts of Forty-nine, Some Recollections of the Plains and the Diggings* (South Bend, Ind., 1894), 107-108.
69. Austin S. Clark, *1852-1865, Reminiscences of Travel* (Middletown, Conn., n.d.), 34.
70. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 128-129.
71. Eg. Clyde A. Duniway, "Slavery in California after 1848," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905* (Washington, D.C. 1906), II, 243. See also Rudolph M. Lapp, "Negro Rights Activities in Gold Rush California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (March 1966), 3-20.
72. Ralph P. Bieber, "California Gold Mania," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (June 1948), 3-28.
73. Reading quoted in Cox, *Annals of Trinity County*, 2.
74. Ross, "Narrative of an Indian Fighter," 11.
75. For Bancroft's version of the story see his *History of California*, VI, 100-101, note 24.
76. Parsons, *Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall*, 112-113.
77. Quoted in Dunbar, *Romance of the Age*, 117-118. Bancroft points out that Dunbar's book was written with the aim of securing a pension from the state for Marshall. Parson's biography, however, wins a ringing endorsement from HHB. See Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 102, note 27.
78. San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript*, May 5, 1849. Reprinted in the San Francisco *Alta California*, May 17, 1849.
79. Ross, "Narrative of an Indian Fighter," 15. Dunbar, *Romance of the Age*, 118.
80. Ross, "Narrative of an Indian Fighter," 16.
81. *Ibid.*, 17. Correspondence from William Daylor to San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript*, May 12, 1849. Reprinted in San Francisco *Alta California*, May 31, 1849.
82. Cf. Frances Aurette (Fuller) Barrett Victor, *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon Compiled from the Oregon Archives and Other Original Sources* . . . (Salem, Ore., 1894); and Ray Howard Glassley, *Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest* (Portland, Ore., 1972), 13-38.
83. Ross, "Narrative of an Indian Fighter," 11. For Ross' latter activities in Oregon see Glassley, *Indian Wars of the Pacific Northwest*, 82-86. Ross' attitudes can be compared with those of other Oregon immigrants such as James L. Tyson, *Diary of a Physician in California* . . . , Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan (Oakland, 1955), 78, 83. Originally published in New York, 1850. See also the views of Oregonian Charles Pickett in Victor, *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, 238; or Peter Burnett in Theodore H. Hittel, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), IV, 58. N.B. Dale Morgan's assessment of the attitude of the Oregon immigrants in his editorial notes in M'Collum, *California as I Saw It*; and Hittel's remarks in his *History of California*, III, 888.
84. The Oregon men, M'Collum added, "are in bad odor with all the miners." M'Collum, *California as I Saw It*, 147-148, 153, 156. See also Delavan, *Notes on California*, 54. Ryan, *Personal Adventures*, II, 299-301. Letts, *California Illustrated*, 112.
85. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region*, 201.
86. *Ibid.*, 197-198, 173. Cf. Johnson, *California and Oregon; or, Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way* (4th ed., Philadelphia, 1857), 181.
87. Buffum, *The Gold Rush*, 19, 57, 66, 80, 119. See also Daniel B. Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings* (New York, 1851), 84. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region*, 206-208. Jill L. Cossley-Batt, *The Last of the California Rangers* (New York, 1928), 73-74, 118.
88. Delavan, *Notes on California*, 55.
89. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region*, 206-208, 218. Johnson, *California and Oregon*, 132, 140, 142-143.
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San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City

American cities became modern during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They developed new economic, political, and social systems, and they created new people, new behavior patterns, and new life styles. Across the country and in San Francisco during the 1870's a new type of individual—the workingman—emerged.

The term "workingman" is usually defined in economic terms as a wage-earner, especially in a manual or industrial occupation.¹ This narrow definition, however, says little about the social consequences of being a worker in the modern city. The word needs a broader meaning which includes aspects of life other than earning a living, for there was more to a workingman than his occupation.

A more inclusive definition can be derived by thinking about the meaning of the word *work*.² One definition of that word is to be engaged in some labor, trade, or business for a master or superior. Another is to make, construct, or manufacture, to form, fashion, or shape. Hence, the common conception of a workingman. However, another definition of work—to be tossed or agitated, to strain, labor, or struggle—produces a different but related understanding of the nineteenth-century urban workingman. A workingman was someone who struggled, who was tossed and agitated, who strained, toiled, and labored. He did so in every area of life, not merely in the economic sphere. The very essence of his life was struggle—social, political, and religious as well as economic. This type of man became common in American cities during the late-nineteenth century. To understand how he was created, the nature of his life, and the way in which he responded to his plight is to comprehend a major aspect of American history.

San Francisco provides an excellent setting for the study of the emergence of the workingman. Because of this city's rapid growth between 1848 and 1880, social developments extending over decades elsewhere were telescoped into a few years in the city by the Bay.

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Professor Shumsky presented this paper to the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in San Francisco in December, 1973. His essay, which proposes a fundamental reinterpretation of the origins of the Workingmen's Party of California, is complemented by a pictorial article beginning on page 58.

In 1847, the population of San Francisco was less than five hundred. Three years later, the discovery of gold had lured some 25,000 people into the port city. By 1860, this figure had grown to 57,000, to 149,000 in 1870, and in 1880, San Francisco's 234,000 inhabitants made it the ninth largest city in the country.³

These immigrants were drawn west by a particular vision of California. They thought that the state's abundant natural resources would create an open society and a thriving economy. They assumed that the fertility of the soil, the abundance of minerals, and the Bay of San Francisco assured the well-being of farmers, miners, and merchants. Artisans, too, would prosper, for rapid population growth and the state's isolation would generate a demand for manufactured goods which had to be supplied locally. Social and economic mobility was assumed to be virtually unlimited in this Golden State.

Modernization and industrialization, however, destroyed the dream. By 1875, the economy had been transformed and the former conditions of opportunity undermined. The new economy rewarded men who organized the factors of production, not ones who were skilled at some trade or occupation. It favored increased production, not quality or craftsmanship.

Few San Franciscans understood the modern economy or could take advantage of it. Those who did—men like Ralston, Sharon, Mills, Fair, Flood, Mackay, Crocker, Stanford, and Huntington—created new enterprises on an unprecedented scale. They built transcontinental railroads, mined mountains of silver, and turned wastelands into fertile fields. They became millionaires.

Other men became workingmen. They continued to see the world in traditional terms and, thus, lacking managerial skills and technical knowledge, could not adapt to new conditions. Neither could they buy machines or hire men, nor could they integrate the factors of production or subdivide labor. They were the organized, not the organizers.

The economic position of these workingmen deteriorated rather than improved in the last half of the nineteenth century. Their traditional sources of income were destroyed because the transformation of the economy lessened the need for skilled workers. Unskilled laborers operating machines began to take over tasks previously performed by artisans and craftsmen.⁴

Sparked into being by the gold rush, the "instant city" of San Francisco sustained a boom psychology and economy for some twenty years. By the 1870's, however, its modernized industrial economy suffered the same chronic depression pangs as those of cities in the East. Wage rates and job security eroded for skilled workers and recent immigrants. The victims of industrialization huddled in high-density, subsistence housing near factories on Rincon Hill in the city's South of Market district (photo c. 1866). California Historical Society



This increasing use of unskilled labor drove workingmen's wages down. So did the completion of the transcontinental railroad. Before 1869, the isolated location of San Francisco had served as a protective barrier for local manufacturers who could charge high prices for goods in short supply and could pay high wages. Then the railroad brought New York within two weeks of California, and locally manufactured goods had to be priced competitively. Manufacturers could no longer afford the previous level of wages.⁵

At the same time, workingmen found it harder to get work. The enormous migration from China, Europe, and the eastern states increased the labor force and competition for jobs. Unemployment and underemployment became widespread, and many jobs were only temporary. Employers became unconcerned about letting a man go during a slack period because they could easily replace him when they were busy again. The size of the labor pool and the increasing reliance on unskilled labor made many workers dispensable and replaceable.⁶

The workingman's struggle was not just economic. Every aspect of his life could bring pain, anguish, and discomfort. By the 1870's his home, family, church, and political party became sources of unhappiness and dissatisfaction, as well.

Because the men were poor and worked long hours, they preferred to live near their jobs. They had little time or money for transportation, and they clustered in the industrial quarter, South of Market Street.⁷ Land in that part of town was valuable. It yielded a high return if used for a factory, and landowners demanded that profit. Since workingmen had small incomes, they were forced into high-density housing such as tenements, apartments, rooming houses, and hotels.⁸ In this period San Francisco had at least 1200 lodging houses and countless rooms to rent. In the 1870's, attractive houses turned into dingy lodgings, and once-pleasant streets were lined with slums.⁹

The South of Market district deserved its reputation as the city's most-crowded quarter. The dwellings were largely tenements and small frame buildings occupied by the laboring class. Many were unfit for human habitation because of overcrowding, poor drainage, lack of ventilation, and filth. Open cesspools and inadequate sewers produced diphtheria, typhoid, and other contagious diseases, but these conditions kept rents low and attracted those who could afford nothing better.¹⁰

In fact, the situation was worse in other parts of town. The waterfront housed hundreds, if not thousands, of men who had no permanent shelter at all. They took refuge in hay-bunks along Vallejo Street wharf or in the sails of schooners lying at anchor. They rendezvoused in lumber yards east of Beale Street or took sanctuary in the city dump. They slept in any nook or cranny and eked out a miserable existence.¹¹ San Francisco was not what they had expected either.

Workingmen found little relief from their miserable surroundings in the formerly secure family unit. Many of them were unmarried, and those with wives and children found that family roles changed. For one thing, these men could not support dependents adequately, and their living conditions were not conducive to successful marriages. Moreover, since the gold rush, men had outnumbered women in San Francisco. In 1880, there were four adult men for every three women in the city. In other words, 25 per cent of the city's men could not marry even if they wished.¹² In addition they had neither the money nor the lodgings to set up house, and women waited for more desirable offers. Laborers and factory workers could not compete in the marriage market with more successful men.¹³

Some workingmen, of course, married and established families, but even they were likely to be disappointed in the quality of family life. Their wives expected them to provide and to establish a household, and love and respect depended upon their ability to do so. Since many workingmen could offer only poverty, they lost respect. Families were frequently weak and unstable.

Divorce became far more common. The male-female ratio meant that a divorced woman could probably remarry, and many wives sought release from unsatisfactory husbands. In 1864-65, one divorce was requested for every nine marriage licenses issued. Ten years later, the ratio had been halved to one divorce requested for every 4.5 licenses. In 1864-65, one divorce was actually granted to every 16.5 marriage licenses, and ten years later, that ratio had been more than halved to one divorce granted for every 7.6 marriage licenses. Furthermore, although the records no longer exist, it is said that four times as many women sued for divorce as did men.¹⁴

Parental authority was also eroding because workingmen were rarely at home. When they had jobs, they worked long hours. When they were unemployed, home was not neces-



*European immigrants such as these men
outside Pendergast's Foundry on Folsom
Street toiled as common laborers and
factory hands—the brawn of the new
Industrial economy. California
Historical Society*

sarily a pleasant place, and, given their lack of success, workingmen offered poor models for their children to emulate.

Consequently, youths of industrial San Francisco formed new social organizations more significant to them than the family. Gangs known as hoodlums roamed the city and terrorized its residents. Unemployed and unable to afford high school, they hung around corners, ogled women, rang doorbells, and unhinged gates. They also picked pockets, clubbed businessmen, and outraged working girls. Their behavior suggests the weakness of family structure and the transformation of family roles in the industrial city.¹⁵

The new workingmen had found little of what they hoped to find in San Francisco. The city was strange and resembled nothing they knew. Their homes were hovels in congested, industrial areas. Their jobs, if they had them at all, were back-breaking and unrewarding. Their families, if they existed, seemed unfamiliar and unconventional. Workingmen therefore turned to two nurturing institutions, their churches and the Democratic party, to help them comprehend their fate and overcome it. But before the end of the 1870's, these institutions also changed and lost meaning and legitimacy.

San Francisco ward politics originated in saloons. The city had hundreds of them, each with its own regular clientele. Prosperous businessmen patronized elegant downtown establishments, and workingmen gathered in the back rooms of corner groceries. They went there at night to eat, drink, play cards, smoke, and talk. The saloons were their clubs and a major social institution of their class.¹⁶

Saloons were also building blocks for political machines. Because workingmen regularly gathered in these establishments, politicians followed them there. They made contacts and sought support in the form of votes in return for promises of jobs, legal aid, welfare, and social events.¹⁷

Using this base and a new alliance with trade unions, the Democratic party returned to power in 1867. It advocated an eight-hour day, better conditions for labor, actions against monopolies, and honest government. But, once in power, the party formed a bipartisan coalition with the Republicans and fulfilled none of its promises¹⁸ to the workingmen who had brought it to prominence.

At the same time, events in the national arena also made it seem that the Democrats were unconcerned about workingmen. During the labor uprisings of 1877, for example, Demo-

cratic railroad officials were as implacable as their Republican counterparts, Democratic governors were just as likely to call out the militia or ask for federal troops, and Democratic cabinet officers supported the anti-labor policies of the Republican president.¹⁹

As a result, workingmen lost faith in the party which had sabotaged its legitimacy in their eyes. They had relied on it for social life, economic assistance, and political support, and its defection embittered them. Their alienation increased when organized religion seemed to abandon them at the same time.

Before the growth of modern cities, the relationship between churches and people had been well defined. The church told men how to live on earth, taught them about the life to come, and provided a forum for public discussion. Modernization destroyed these functions. The city became pluralistic, filled with men of different origins, languages, beliefs, and social positions. No one church could satisfy them all, and each church had to decide whom to save. Most of them decided against the workingmen.

Many churches became centers of fashion where preachers delivered sedate lectures instead of old-fashioned Bible-beating sermons. Organ music and operatic selections replaced the old hymns, and theatrics succeeded fervor. Many attendants came to see and be seen, not to pray. These churches no longer offered guidance to men's souls or lessons in morality, but rather justified the existing state of the world. Popular ministers absolved their congregations of responsibility for poverty in the city and blamed the workingmen themselves for their problems.²⁰

These doctrines appealed to successful men, but they hardly offered succor or understanding to workingmen. These men had traveled to California in search of wealth and a better life, but only a handful had become millionaires. Workingmen wanted to know what had distinguished the men who lived atop Nob Hill—the Crockers, the Stanfords, and the Huntingtons.

This question became essential to workingmen. They had dreamed of an open mobile society and a free economy with unlimited prosperity. They found instead the poverty and misery of the modern city. They did not comprehend the massive changes which were occurring and knew only that things were not what they should have been. They felt alienated and alone.

Then, in September, 1877, a new organization sprang up in San Francisco which suggested explanations and solutions to these problems. Within a few months, the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), an association of workingmen, attracted a membership of thousands. Its emotional appeal centered around its ability to explain economic conditions in San Francisco and recreate a sense of community for men who found the modern city chaotic and meaningless.

The Workingmen's party appealed to those men who had been displaced by modernization. Quantitative analysis of census schedules, voting registers, and city directories reveals that its members were common laborers and factory workers who frequently lived in districts of European immigrants and in sections dominated by boarding houses and tenements. They lived in neighborhoods of single men, not families, and in poverty-stricken quarters. Confused by the changes around them and unable to relate to traditional institutions, they joined the WPC because it offered a persuasive explanation for their plight.²¹

According to the Workingmen's party, a monstrous conspiracy to overthrow the Republic had surfaced. A few selfish men, not content to be members of an egalitarian society, had carefully laid plans to destroy freedom and democracy and establish themselves as an aristocracy. The crisis began, the WPC argued, when a small group seized the public domain and monopolized all the land in California. They were the "land-grabbers."²²

Workingmen found this argument irrefutable. Thrust in the midst of the modern city but seeing the world through pre-modern eyes, they believed that land was the source of all social, political, and economic power. Because there was a finite amount of land, they believed that there was a limited amount of wealth. It followed that if a few men had all the land and wealth, society would be permanently marked by great extremes, not an equal distribution of property, and thus wealth.²³

Workingmen believed this interpretation to be an accurate analysis of economic conditions in California. In contrast to their own poverty was the wealth of Railroad Kings and Silver Barons, visibly symbolized by the new mansions atop Nob Hill. Moreover, government reports confirmed the increasing concentration of land in the state. Board of Equalization figures showed that the 122 largest farms in California

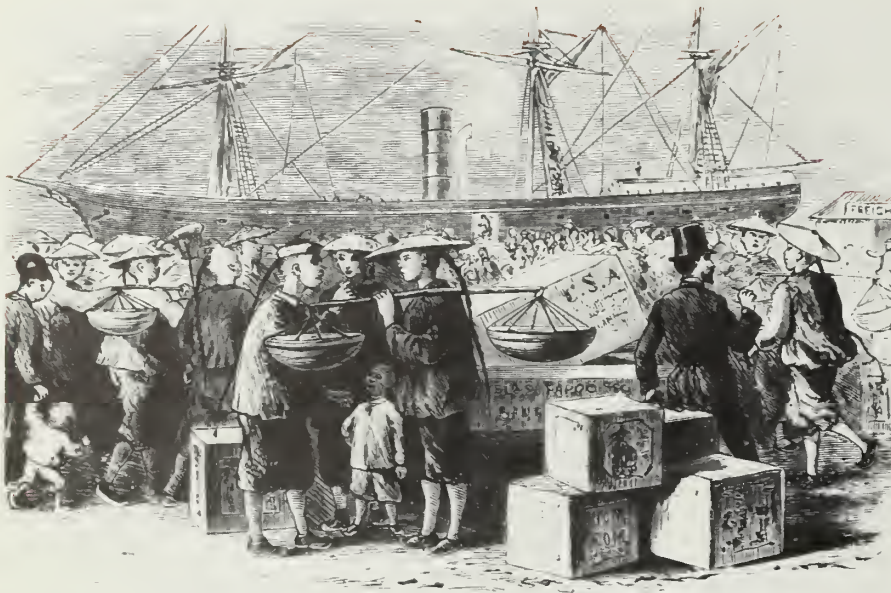
exceeded the other 23,315 in aggregate size. The censuses of 1860, 1870, and 1880 supported this conclusion.²⁴ To men who believed that land ownership and wealth were equivalent, the implication was clear: a landed aristocracy had arisen in California.²⁵

Workingmen found a great deal of evidence to support this contention. According to their political theories, tyranny and despotism, the handmaidens of aristocracy, appeared in California. Every level of government seemed to be marked by graft, corruption, and fraud.²⁶ In San Francisco, brokers were selling positions on the police force, and prospective teachers were buying examination questions. The new city hall was a boondoggle, and embezzlement was common. The mint, customs' house, and post office were controlled by a band of politicians known as the Federal Ring. Disclosures in 1877 revealed that a United States senator, the secretary of the Senate, and the superintendent of the mint had stolen thousands of dollars from the Naval Pay Office.²⁷ To the workingmen, this indicated that a small group of men was using the government for its own ends and thereby sabotaging the Republic.

San Francisco's municipal authorities strengthened this belief by persecuting the WPC. They arrested its leaders and jailed them on trumped-up charges. They drove crowds from the streets, broke up meetings, and used policemen as censors. The board of supervisors tried to abridge the right of free speech, and the state legislature passed laws which limited the right of assembly.²⁸

These repressive actions helped convince the workingmen that there was a conspiracy to destroy America. The plot began with the seizure of the land and the establishment of an aristocracy. Next the nobility corrupted the government and tried to destroy civil liberties. The final element, according to the WPC, was the attempt to re-establish economic slavery by importing Chinese laborers who would be subservient pawns to the nobility.

The men of the WPC recognized the physical similarities between Chinatown and their own parts of San Francisco. They saw that the men in both regions were without property, wives, or a healthy environment. But, instead of realizing that the Chinese were pawns like themselves to industrial modernization, the workingmen believed that the Chinese were satisfied with their conditions.²⁹ It was said to be their



Chinese emigrants, primarily single men, crowded vessels departing for the New World, as depicted in the illustration from Russell Conwell's Why and How (Boston, 1871), and upon arriving in San Francisco were forced to live in the cramped quarters of Chinatown.
California Historical Society

nature to live and work in misery, and, hence, they were content to work for wages too low to support honest white laborers.³⁰ That, according to the WPC, explained why there was unemployment among white workingmen.

At this point in the analysis, workingmen linked the Chinese to the landgrabbers and the aristocrats. Because the nobles cared more about profits than about the Republic, they preferred to hire Chinese labor. Fearing that it would become increasingly difficult for white men to support themselves because of job competition, workingmen believed they would eventually be forced out altogether, and no one would remain except aristocrats and their Oriental slaves. Free labor would then disappear and the Republic vanish.³¹

The Workingmen's Party of California, then, grew out of these fears. It was dedicated to restoring the glittering vision of California and recreating the conditions of opportunity. In effect, it desired to return to the society and economy of pre-modern San Francisco. Unable to understand how modernization had changed their lives, they blamed their misfortune upon the land-grabbers and the Chinese. Isolated and alienated, they focused on Charles Crocker and Ah Sin as scape-

goats. Dreaming of purifying the Republic, they saw their task as the elimination of aristocrats and slaves.³²

Although the WPC never accomplished its overt goals of land reform and Chinese repatriation, it did achieve its larger purpose. The party's unsuccessful attempt to cleanse California did in fact help mitigate the harshness of the modern city by creating a new institutional framework to replace traditional structures which had lost their meaning.

To begin with, the Workingmen's party tried to deal with the worker's severest problem, poverty. The party tried to create jobs, and one of its programs was to establish independent businesses, particularly laundries. They saw this as a way of providing work and attacking the Chinese at the same time.³³

In addition, the WPC asked for public works projects and requested businesses to fire Chinese employees. At every sand-lot meeting, the party posted a list of firms which hired Chinese labor and tried to impose a boycott. As well, every issue of the party newspaper blacklisted recalcitrant businesses.³⁴ The WPC hoped that each of these programs would create more jobs and help its members escape from poverty.



Recognizing the workingman as a social type with critical social problems as well as an economic being, the Workingmen's party was more than an economic movement. It was also a social movement devoted to restructuring the social milieu. Every man who joined the WPC became part of an active and vital community. He could spend Sunday afternoon at a mass meeting and attend a ward meeting once a week. He could become an officer or serve on one of the committees which proliferated within the party.³⁵

Business meetings, however, were only a small part of the organization's activities. The WPC also promoted a vigorous social life, and its ward clubs sponsored entertainments, balls, and picnics which anyone could attend. Even its mass meetings became gay and festive with a carnival-like atmosphere. Refreshment vendors set up booths and gave the gatherings the "appearance of a Centennial exhibition."³⁶

While the WPC began its program of restoration by trying to modify the economic and social milieu of industrial San Francisco, it further extended itself to provide religion for men who had become alienated from the established churches of the day. The party's vice-president, William Wellock,

claimed to have been an itinerant preacher in England. He was known as Parson Wellock and never delivered speeches, only sermons. He began them with Biblical quotations which supported the workingmen, and he discussed the scripture in accordance with their needs.³⁷

Wellock's interpretation of the Bible was severely criticized by the press. The WPC replied by indicating organized religion. Workingmen, it proclaimed, would not be interested in listening to San Francisco ministers unless they "purged their societies from the old leaven of slavery, pride, hypocrisy, and deceit." Until then, the WPC would "draw onto the Sand Lots five times the number . . . that the most eloquent clergyman could call into church."³⁸

On July 4, 1878, the religious involvement of the WPC intensified. On that day, Isaac Kalloch, one of San Francisco's leading ministers, announced his support for the party. Kalloch had come to San Francisco three years before as spiritual leader of Metropolitan Temple, the largest Baptist church in America. Now he prayed for the workingmen, blessed them, wished them luck, and reminded them of their political responsibilities. Workingmen flocked to his church, and its

*The political party's Sunday addresses
and picnics became social events as well as
occasions for political organizing.*
California State Library, Sacramento

halls were packed as never before. Kallach became one of the party's leaders, and it nominated him for mayor of San Francisco in 1879. He was elected after a sensational campaign.³⁹

Just as the WPC looked after the workingman's economic, social, and spiritual needs, it concerned itself with their psychological and political problems, as well. The WPC attempted to make men who were alienated from the larger society because modernization had destroyed their traditional roles once more an integral part of the city. It asserted that they had a right to participate in government and that their needs deserved to be considered. Winning recognition for itself and its followers, within a few months the party had seized the city's attention, was influencing its politics, and seemed likely to determine its future.

Within a month after the WPC was founded in 1877, every newspaper in the city discussed the phenomena. Each day's issue contained an editorial, an account of a meeting, or a notice of an upcoming event. No one who read a paper could possibly be unaware of the workingmen. The party had given them status and importance.

In celebration of its newfound prominence, the WPC planned a great parade through San Francisco for Thanksgiving Day, 1877. Each ward club was to march individually, and many made elaborate arrangements, appointing committees to supervise music, banners, and mottoes. Clubs hired bands and constructed floats. The day of the parade dawned crisp and clear, and weeks of planning culminated in a great parade of 10,000 workingmen. San Francisco's workers, once a mass of faceless men, emerged from anonymity to proclaim themselves an important part of the city's social life.⁴⁰

In reality, however, to become an important social force, the WPC needed political power, and its members had to vote. Hence, the party then embarked upon a naturalization and registration drive. Every immigrant was urged to become a citizen, and every member was asked to register and vote. In this way, the WPC served to help integrate its members into the city by persuading them to take part in its previously untouchable political life.⁴¹

Moreover, the WPC became a forum for workingmen to participate directly in the political process. In May, 1878, the party selected nominees for the upcoming election of delegates to the state constitutional convention. In making its

SUNDAY, March 31st, THE OPEN LETTER PICNIC

—WILL TAKE PLACE AT—

Shell Mound Park BERKELEY,

Under the Auspices of the
WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF
CALIFORNIA.

WILLIS' BAND

OF 16 PIECES.

THE TENTH WARD INDEPENDENTS
WILL ACT AS GUARDS OF HONOR.

PROGRAMME.

The Band will assemble at the Sand Lot at 9:30 o'clock, A. M.

The Board of Directors, Printers, Carriers, Reporters and Editors will head the Procession.

The Band.

Tenth Ward Independents, as Guards of Honor,
Capt. Wiggins, Commanding.

Stockholders, Subscribers, Friends and all members of the Workingmen's Party, and all who desire to spend a day in the country, at one of the most delightful Parks in the State.

The following Exercises will take place at the Park, and Mayor Andrus, of Oakland, will preside:

D. Kearney, W. W. Block, H. L. Knight, M. Steinle, Mr. Gaus, H. M. Moore, F. Rodney and others, will speak to the question,
"The Chinese Must Go."

Fine Interludes by the Band.

Little JENNIE WELLOCK.....In Recitation.
Labor Shall be King."

Miscellaneous.

Music will commence at 2 o'clock P. M. and continue until 5:30 o'clock P. M.

Admission to the Park.....25 cents.
Children.....Half Price.

If it rains it will be considered postponed, but if the sun shines there will be a legion.

Special trains run to the grounds direct, at 10:30 A. M. and 12 M.

FARE FOR ROUND TRIP..... 25 cts.

choices, the WPC sought to involve the individual members as much as possible. Its philosophical intent was to "go back to the primitive simplicity of the founders of the government of the people, for the people, and by the people."⁴²

Certainly the men who were selected for the constitutional convention reflected the nature of the party and its members. Almost two-thirds of them were foreign-born, and half had never paid taxes. Of the thirty candidates, only six were professionals or merchants; the rest were from the working class. According to one critical observer, the men "were more fit to clean legislative halls than to sit in them."⁴³ However, their nomination qualified them to do just that and identified them and their supporters with the city.

In June, 1878, the Workingmen's Party of California elected one-third of the delegates to the state constitutional convention. It swept San Francisco and became a significant force in state politics. It later elected a number of state officials and the mayor of San Francisco, but these victories were less significant, in the long run, than its attempt to integrate the new workingman in the modern city.

In attempting to restructure society, the Workingmen's Party of California evoked tremendous vitality and gave hope to its members that they could recreate the kind of world that they wanted. In establishing the Workingmen's Party of California, workingmen took a step toward doing precisely that. Within months of its founding, the Workingmen's party was functioning as a social club, fraternal organization, political machine, and church. Although the party disintegrated into factions even before the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, it had helped mitigate the harshness of the modern city and end the anonymity of workingmen.

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"VOTE FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION!"



"Nail Your Colors to the Mast."—Commodore Perry, Lake Erie.

The Workingmen's Party of California, 1877-1882

In its brief but dramatic history, the Workingmen's Party of California produced countless broadsides, leaflets, and other illustrated documents for the purpose of educating workingmen about the party's principles and urging active support for its goals. Yet, like many grass-roots organizations which have attempted to counter the dominant power sectors of society, only a scattered few of the party's written and graphic efforts have survived the years following the party's demise in the early 1880's. Most items remaining in today's archives were produced for an audience openly hostile to the movement which persistently and flagrantly assaulted the political and economic status quo of the 1870's.

In contrast, then, to the preceding article, "San Francisco's Workingmen Respond to the Modern City," which offers a new and more sympathetic approach to the brief-lived mass organization and focuses on its motivations and achievements, the following pictorial selection is unavoidably critical in perspective. However, the cartoons—most of them from a popular San Francisco newspaper of the times, *The Illustrated Wasp*—document some of the issues raised by the party and the significant events in its history. As well, they unconsciously, perhaps, reveal the anti-working class ideology and prejudices held by the respectable, powerful, socially integrated, and financially secure classes in San Francisco society of the 1870's.



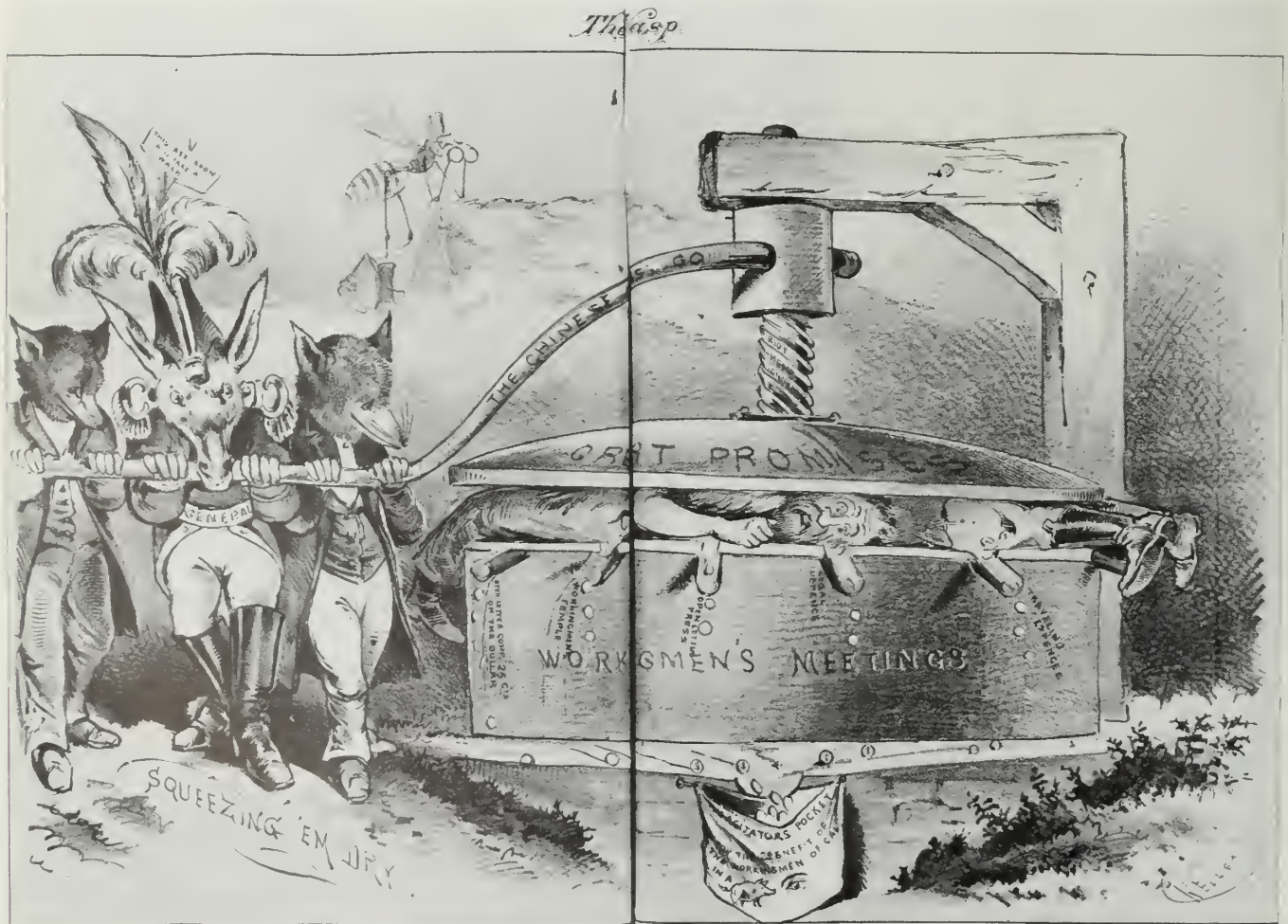
Denis Kearney, the omnipresent spokesman for the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), was born in County Cork, Ireland, in 1847. He arrived in San Francisco in 1868 where he ran a draymen's business which prospered until 1877. Kearney's defiant style and political analysis, expressed with a heavy Irish brogue, catapulted him to fame as he "orator of the sand-lots." On September 12, 1877, he helped found the WPC. During the next few months, audiences of ten and even twenty thousand workingmen attended his sand-lot speeches.

J. S. Holliday, San Francisco.

In his sand-lot addresses, Kearney warned irate workingmen, many of them immigrants, that the millionaires on Nob Hill were transplanting an Old World aristocracy in the republican soil of America through the ruthless seizure of land. Like old world castles, the baroque wooden mansions of Mark Hopkins and Leland Stanford, two members of the Central Pacific's "Big Four," seemed to typify the trappings of European nobility. In October, 1877, Kearney carried the battle to a higher pitch when he led an unruly crowd of workingmen up Nob Hill to the Charles Crocker mansion where he staged a mass protest against the railroad king's "spite fence." Crocker ordered this 30-foot-high fence constructed around the cottage of a neighbor who had refused to sell his property to him. During the course of his assault upon this symbol of Nob Hill arrogance, Kearney mounted the steps of the mansion and shouted, "If I give an order to hang Crocker, it will be done!" California Historical Society



San Francisco newspapers such as the Illustrated Wasp and the Chronicle consistently attacked Kearney—who was usually depicted as a bull or jackass—for being a profiteer and demagogue who exploited the hopes and grievances of workingmen. *Wasp*, May 4, 1878. Bancroft Library.





The sand-lot meetings, held in front of San Francisco's city hall and attended by raucous crowds and soapbox speakers, offered a carnival-like atmosphere.

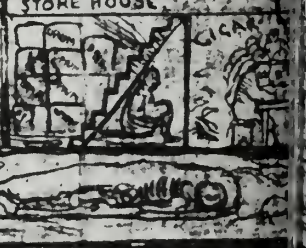
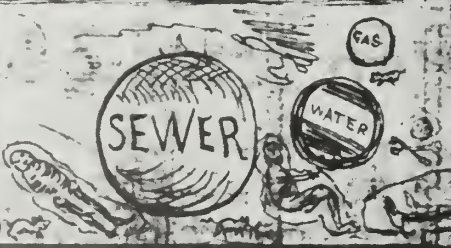
The Wasp critically depicted these expressions of working-class camaraderie. Wasp, July 24, 1880. Bancroft Library

THE PLAGUE SPOT OF CALIFORNIA

HOW THE "MOON-EYED" LEEPERS
ARRIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO, AND THE
POLICE ESCORT THEM DIRECT TO A
VIOLATION OF THE CUBIC-
AIR LAW! WHICH IS
QUOTED BELOW, FOR THE
BENEFIT OF MAYOR BRYANT,
WHO IS NOW ZEALOUSLY ENGAGED IN
ATTEMPTING TO ARREST FREE SPEECH
BY PETTY PERSECUTIONS OF
MESSRS KEARNY, WELLOCK &
KNIGHT, AND DEVOTING HIS
OFFICIAL TIME IN ASSISTING
FELONS TO ESCAPE, AS
THE BULLETIN ASSUMES.
SKETCHES FROM NATURE.



THE
DAILY
ILLUSTRATED
OPEN
CITY
PAPER
ISSUED
DAILY
1877.

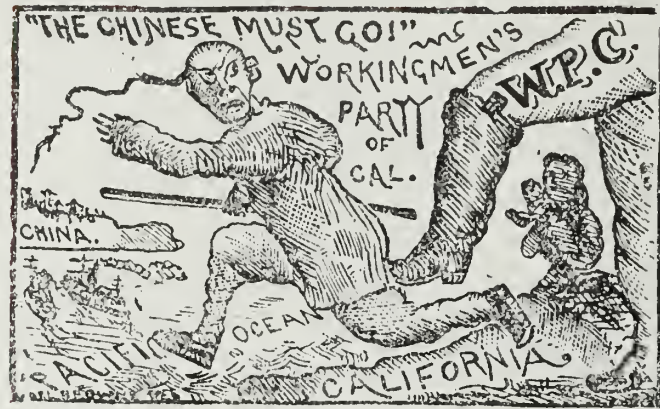


COPIES OF THIS PAPER WILL BE SENT TO PRESIDENT HAYES, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, AND ALL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

"The Chinese Must Go" became the catch phrase of the WPC's campaign to expel from California the Chinese—some 20,000 of whom had been imported to work on the transcontinental railroad and another 80,000 of whom had entered the country between 1870 and 1875. This vignette appeared on WPC ballots. California State Library, Sacramento

Plump cooks and scarecrow waiters parodied the WPC's decision to form military companies. William Welleck, a shoemaker from Yorkshire, self-appointed parson, and a vice-president of the party, convinced the membership to organize drill companies whose uniforms, marksmanship, and precision marching would enhance the pride of workingmen. *Wasp*, July 20, 1878. Bancroft Library.

Regular Workingmen's Ticket, San Francisco County.



SATURDAY

Second Annual Picnic & Excursion OF THE TENTH WARD INDP'T RIFLES,

Capt. J. S. Ecker, escorted by the INDEPENDENT McMAHON
GRENADIER GUARD, Capt. J. E. Green, and the
TWELFTH WARD RIFLES, Cap. Jansen,
WILL TAKE PLACE ON

SUNDAY, MAY 18th, 1879,
At Cremorne Gardens, Martinez,

PROGRAMME OF PRIZES.

Every lady upon going on the boat, will be presented with a numbered ticket, a duplicate of which will be deposited in a box. The first number drawn will entitle the holder of a like number to the First Prize, and so on until five numbers are drawn.

FIRST PRIZE.—(Presented by Eintacht Saloon, 539 California St.)\$5 Gold
SECOND PRIZE.—(Presented by McCabe Feather House, 922 Market St.)Pair Feather Pillows
THIRD PRIZE.—(Presented by I. X. L. Auction House)Japanese Cabinet
FOURTH PRIZE.—(Presented by Kennedy & Durr)Box Balbriggan Hose
FIFTH PRIZE.—(Presented by F. P. Murphy, of the Eighth Ward Club).....\$5 Gold

Programme of Games.

1. BEST LADY ROUND DANCER—(Presented by Nolan Bros.)...Order on Nolan Bros. for one \$10 pair of Shoes.
 2. SECOND-BEST LADY ROUND DANCER—(Presented by M. Freud & Sons) \$3 French corset
 3. BEST GENTLEMAN ROUND DANCER—(Presented by Hastings & Co) \$10 pair of pants
 4. SECOND-BEST GENTLEMAN ROUND DANCER—Presented by C. Hermann\$5 hat
 5. HANDSOMEST UNMARKED LADY—(Presented by J. E. Green, Ichama and 4th) \$10 gold
 6. UGLIEST MAN—(Presented by Gordon & Buckley, 782 Market Street)Box of Cigars
 7. MARRIED WOMEN'S RACE—(Presented by Golden Rule Bazaar).....Silver Castor
 8. SINGLE LADIES' RACE—(Presented by McDonnell, cor. 6th and Market).....Box Perfumery
 9. MARRIED MEN'S RACE—(Presented by the maker).....Case Price's Razor
 10. SINGLE MEN'S RACE—(Presented by I. Selig, 218 Kearny st).....Box Handkerchiefs
 11. BOY'S RACE, 12 to 15 years—(Presented by McNamara, hatter).....Order for Boy's Hat
 12. GIRL'S RACE, 12 to 15 years—(Presented by J. J. O'Brien & Co).....Elegant Fan
 13. BEST RUNNING JUMP, MEN—(Presented by Seanger Halle, 16 Geary street) Box Cigars
 14. BEST STANDING JUMP—(Presented by Uncle Harris).....Elegant Gold Sleeve Buttons
 15. RACE round the block by 12th Ward Rifles—(Presented by Matt O'Donnell) One Case Wine
 16. RACE round the block by Independent McMahon Grenadier Guard—(Presented by G. Rotanzi, 1027 Market street).....One case Wine
 17. RACE round the block by Tenth Ward Rifles—(Presented by M. Ward, 313 Battery street).....One Demijohn Whiskey
 18. TO MEMBER OF THE COMPANY that sells most picnic tickets—(Presented by Geo. Loomis, Plaza Stores)One Elegant Meerschaum Pipe
 19. BEST THREE STANDING JUMPS—(Made to order by Nicoll the Tailor) \$5 Pair Pants
- About fifty other prizes, too numerous to mention, presented by M. Lane, 1000 Market street will be given away for various games.

Tickets, Round Trip and Admission to Park..... \$1
Children, 12 to 15..... 50c
Children under 12..... Free

Steamer Contra Costa leaves Clay Street Wharf at 9 a. m. Dancing on board the steamer. Strictest order will be maintained.

NONE BUT WHITE LABOR EMPLOYED.

NICOLL, The TAILOR

New Styles every Week. PANTS to Order from \$1. SUITS from \$15.

French, English, Scotch and Domestic Goods

Of the very Newest Styles ever seen. Samples, with instructions for Self-Measurement, sent free.

NICOLL THE TAILOR,

No. 727 MARKET ST., SAN FRANCISCO

OPEN LETTER PRINT 415 MARKET

As evidenced by this advertisement for a WPC meeting, everyone who joined the party became part of an active community organization which met social as well as political and economic needs. The party had branches in all twelve wards of San Francisco and sponsored sand-lot rallies every Sunday.
California Historical Society



The party gained a brilliant orator in Isaac Kalloch, the Baptist pastor of the city's largest congregation, when he proclaimed his conversion to the workingmen's movement on the Fourth of July, 1878. This former New England abolitionist shortly won election as mayor of the city, and, in later years, ended his controversial career as a railroad promoter in the Northwest. *Wasp*, December 6, 1878. Bancroft Library



ANOTHER DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE ASS



'TWIXT PASS'D' AND DUTY.

Seeking to create new jobs, the WPC established several cooperative laundries, and Kearney hoped to expand them by borrowing money from the captains of industry. James Flood, Comstock tycoon, rejected Kearney's plea for funds, but the party's newspaper continued to publish the names of black-listed businesses who employed Orientals and to encourage economic pressure to create more jobs. *Wasp*, June 1, 1878. Bancroft Library

Catholic workingmen felt themselves abandoned by their Church which offered them little solace or charity in a time of increasing need. The WPC dispensed charity and served as a benevolent association for members and their families and clerical authority declined as workers shifted allegiance. *Wasp*, April 20, 1878. Bancroft Library

Believing that workingmen should participate directly in the political process, the party announced its candidates to the state constitutional convention in May, 1878. Of the thirty delegates selected from the city, nineteen were immigrants, half had never paid taxes, and nearly all were tradesmen. Reflecting its elitism and bias of middle-class respectability, the

Wasp savagely depicted the men as grotesque illiterates. Wasp, August 9, 1879. California Historical Society

Kalloch's evangelical fervor drew workingmen into his liberal church, the Metropolitan Temple at Fifth and Jessie streets. He questioned the infallibility of scripture and championed Darwinian science, to the dismay of the Wasp, but the services offered by his church—a reading room, library, gymnasium, day nursery, sewing room, and manual training course—brought him working-class support.

Neil Shumsky



SCIENCE AND RELIGION RECONCILED AT LAST



Asserting their right to participate in governing the city and to have their needs considered, some 10,000 workingmen, led by Kearney on one of his dray horses, marched through the city on Thanksgiving Day, 1877, clamoring for the ouster of the Chinese. The long line of companies representing an assortment of WPC ward clubs, trade unions, and anti-coolie groups emphasized the party's surging political strength. *Wasp*, December 8, 1877. Bancroft Library



The Wasp's illustration of a factory woman sewing the last strands of the party's dress, each inscribed with a radical slogan, reflected the general opinion that the Workingmen's party was a radical movement. The demands actually brought by the party to the constitutional convention were an eight-hour day, direct election of United States senators, a compulsory education law, the regulation of banks and railroads, a state board of equalization to enforce a more equitable system of taxation, and the prohibition of the use of Chinese labor by corporations or in public works. With the exception of the eight-hour day and election of senators, most of the party's desired reforms were included; however, compromises and behind-the-scenes manipulation so alienated party members that when the constitution was ratified in May, 1879, the Workingmen's party of San Francisco strongly rejected it. Statewide it was approved by a narrow majority of 11,000 voters. Wasp, September 12, 1878. Bancroft Library

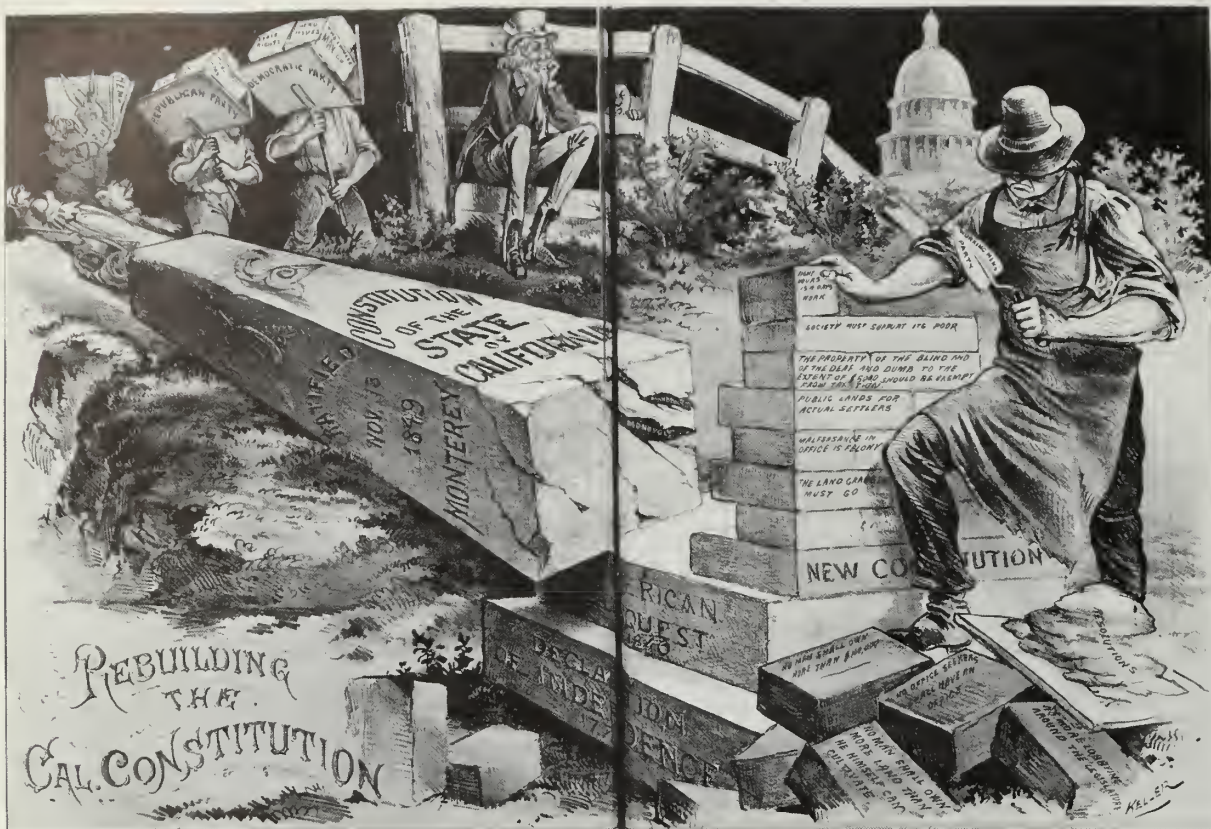
On election day, June 19, 1878, the party swept all ten of the city's senatorial districts for thirty seats and picked up an additional twenty-one constitutional delegates from towns and counties outside the city. Thus, of the 152 delegates chosen for the convention which assembled in September, 1878, over a third were workingmen, and the WPC had clearly "distanced" all other opponents. Wasp, March 23, 1878. Bancroft Library

The constitution of 1879 proved to be a mild testament to reform—so weak that the captains of industry might have privately supported its passage. Even the Wasp of May 24, 1879, disapproved. The new constitution levied a poll tax, disfranchised a large portion of the floating labor vote, introduced a property qualification, and prohibited public works as an emergency operation to employ men. Henry George summarized it as "destitute . . . of any shadow of reform" which would "lessen social inequalities or purify politics." Bancroft Library



A SUGGESTION OF A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DRESS FOR CALIFORNIA. BY THE WORKINGMENS PARTY. SEPT. 29th 1878





The constitution bristled with anti-Chinese clauses and censured the wealthy. Article XIX forbade the employment of “any Chinese or Mongolian” by state or local governments or corporations operating within the state. Later, the state supreme court invalidated this article. The constitution also called upon the legislature to outlaw the forced sales of lands by homesteaders. Wasp, June 1, 1878.

According to the Wasp, cheap Chinese labor, land grabbers, corrupt bosses, and monopoly capital would persist even if the constitution were ratified by the people. By the time of the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the party had splintered out of existence. Wasp, April 29, 1879.



WON'T THEY STILL REMAIN HERE IN SPITE OF THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION ?

(Written expressly for the BOYS OF NEW YORK.)

"Kearney's Request."

BY WILL P. JOHNSON,

WHEN I'm dead and gone from you, Working-
men,
And laid away in my grave,
When my soul has left the old sand lots,
To Him, who my soul will save,
When there's plenty of work and money
more,
Think of the days past we've had,
This one little wish I'd ask of you—
I want it put on my slab.

Chorus.

Here lies Dennis Kearney, the workingmen's
friend,
The drayman, who your savior had been,
Remember our war cry: "The Chinese
must Go,"
And see that my grave's kept green.

When my soul has left the old Sand Lot,
My spirit will always remain,
When the Chinese are gone and labor
crowned king,

Remember Kearney always the same.
When years have past and the Sand Lot
built up,

Workingmen in office be seen,
Remember our Seal and Platform: Hemp!
And see that my grave's kept green.

Here lies Dennis Kearney, etc.

Remember the "Sand Lot," our native soil,
It's like the dirt of the dear green Isle;
Bury a few handfuls of the sand with me,
For it kills all Snakes and Reptiles.
Conduct your meeting with: "All hands Up,"
Like I, when your president had been,
Look out for Traitors and Honorable Bilks,
And see that my grave's kept green.

Here lies Dennis Kearney, etc.

Denis Kearney rode the wave of working-class discontent and racism to temporary fame and power in California. An extraordinary charismatic leader—perhaps a demagogue—he made emotional appeals to workingmen and women which elicited enormous response. He promised them something better than their miserable lot, attempted to integrate them into political life, and, indeed, helped them believe that the nineteenth-century American Dream was still within their grasp. California State Library, Sacramento

Women's History: A Listing of West Coast Archival and Manuscript Sources—Part I

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

The emerging recognition of the importance of women's role in history has stimulated the study of western women's history. There continues, however, to be a serious dearth of scholarly research at the primary source level. The result is that the story of women's activities and organizations in the West remains virtually untold or highly stereotyped.

To encourage primary source study, this issue of the *Quarterly* presents the first section of a two-part article surveying major primary sources dealing with women located in West Coast libraries and institutions. This survey originated at the fall, 1971, meeting of the American Historical Association where a group of archivists and historians determined to identify and describe "primary source material available for research on the subject of individual women or events in which women participated in significant numbers." The survey of West Coast materials was made by Dr. Joan Hoff Wilson and was presented at the April, 1972, meeting of the Organization of American Historians. Her survey included material from twenty-seven institutions.

The present listing updates and adds to the original survey entries for a total of forty-one institutions, of which thirty-two are from California, two from Oregon, five from Washington, and two from British Columbia. Among these, there are reports from nine private colleges and universities, eight state-supported colleges and universities, five historical societies, six public libraries, two regional archival branches of the National Archives and Record Service, two state or provincial archives, two state libraries, and seven miscellaneous collections, mainly private institutions. It should be noted that major holdings are housed at the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, the University of Oregon, and the University of Washington. Women were granted equal opportunity to higher education at an early date at these institutions, and their long-standing and excellent archival repositories have been carefully administered.

Dr. Wilson is professor of history at California State University, Sacramento, and author of *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (1975) and "Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in *The American Revolution* (1976), edited by Alfred F. Young.

Ms. Donovan is CHS manuscript librarian and coordinator of the Women in California Collection.

Women students flocked to San Francisco's Art Institute housed in the Mark Hopkins home at California and Mason streets—some attending discreetly segregated sculpture classes—until the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed the building.



Religious service offered one avenue of financial and occupational security for women with limited job opportunities. Nuns such as the women in this portrait operated schools, homes for children, and charity services.

A female baseball player, obviously proud of her prowess, posed for a Eureka photographer at the turn of the century.



The entries in the listing below are arranged by alphabetical order within states. Part I includes the California entries from *A* to *S* (from the American Film Institute to Stanford). The next issue of the *Quarterly* will carry entries from the University of California system to *W*, Women's History Research Center in Berkeley, and the entries from Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia.

Entries list the woman's name, followed by her vital dates and profession or achievement. Following is a description of the material in the collection with the dates covered and the amount of material. This information is printed exactly as provided to the compilers of this article, including the use of maiden or married names. The entries for women's organization are interfiled with those for individual women.

In 1975 the National Endowment for the Humanities announced with the University of Minnesota the funding of a national survey, the Women's History Sources Survey, "for the creation of a resource guide for the study of the history of women in the United States from the colonial period to the present." The compilers of this listing both serve on the advisory board of this project. The material appearing in this two-part article in the *Quarterly* is the first step toward a complete survey of women's sources on the West Coast.

AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE

Center for Advanced Film Studies
Charles K. Feldman Library
Anne G. Schlosser, Librarian
501 Doheny Road
Beverly Hills, California 90210
(213) 278-8777

The collection includes scripts by a large number of women screen writers and a clipping file on women in film and women filmmakers.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Lynn Bonfield Donovan, Manuscript Librarian
2090 Jackson Street
San Francisco, California 94109
(415) 567-1848

Atherton, Gertrude (1857-1948), author; 1 folder, 1907-1909
Baby Hygiene Committee of the American Association of
University Women, 14 boxes and 2 scrapbooks, 1905-1950

Bennett, Ella Costillo, author; 2 boxes, 1907-1966
Buckel, Cloe Annette, M.D. (1833-1912), Civil War nurse;
1 folder, 1863-1865
Buckbee, Edna Brown, author; 3 boxes, 1930's
Coolbrith, Ina Donna (1841-1928), poet and librarian; 1 folder,
1898-1925
Crocker, Mary Deming, 1 folder, 1853-1881
Farnham, Eliza (1815-1864), author and reformer; 1 folder,
1849-1954
Girls High School, San Francisco; 5 boxes and 2 volumes,
1864-1940
Hearst, Phoebe A. (1842-1919), philanthropist; 1 folder, 1912-1917
Hyde, Helen (1868-1919), artist; 4 boxes, 1881-1914
Keith, Mary McHenry, lawyer and suffragist; 1 folder, 1906
Kellogg, Rhoda, children's art educator
League of Women Voters of California, 46 boxes and 1 volume,
1911 to present
League of Women Voters of San Francisco, 26 boxes and 18
volumes, 1911 to present
Martin, Anne Henrietta, suffragist and pacifist; 3 folders, 1899-1953
Mighels, Ella Sterling Cummins, author; 14 boxes, 1870-1940
Peck, Janet M., philanthropist; 18 boxes, 1954-1965, includes
records of the Serbian Relief League
Powers, Laura Bride (1867-1947), historian and preservationist;
5 boxes, 1923-1947
Shinn, Milicent Washburn (1858-1940), *Overland Monthly* editor;
1 folder, 1880-1925
Shipley, Miriam Allen de Ford, author and reformer
Sorbier, Louise A. (1847-1929), suffragist and philanthropist;
7 boxes, 1854-1956, includes records of the Women's Education
and Industrial Union and an 1898 scrapbook on women's suffrage
Watson, Elizabeth Lowe, suffragist; 2 folders, 1914-1920
Watson, Margaret Wickham, translator and author; diaries,
1921-1934
Women's Cooperative Printing Union, 1 folder, 1868-1880
Women's Suffrage, Elk Grove Debate, 1880, 1 folder

The collection also includes women's overland journey diaries, letters of early American women settlers, letters of Japanese-American women interned in the Relocation Centers, papers of women active in establishing the Llano del Rio Cooperative Colony, and autograph books of young girls.

CALIFORNIA STATE ARCHIVES

W. N. Davis, Jr., Chief of Archives
1020 "O" Street
Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 445-4293

Multifaceted programs of the California state government have substantial quantities of records relating to women, including documentation of various women's activities and roles not found in most manuscript collections. Name indexes indicating gender

Women's History

are available for some record series, but there is no general inventory of the total holdings. Information must be ferreted out by the researcher by consulting files of state agencies dealing with the people of the state (and so women), such as the records of penal institutions, trial and appellate courts, and the officer concerned with education, employment, health and welfare, professional and vocational standards, and other areas.

CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

Carma R. Leigh, State Librarian
Library-Courts Building
P.O. Box 2037
Sacramento, California 95809
(916) 445-4374

Primary research materials helpful in the study of women's history include pictures, diaries, letters, and other manuscripts and special files of biographical material of artists, authors, musicians, and California pioneers and their families. Also, many California newspapers from pioneer times to the present, including a San Francisco newspaper since 1904, have been indexed. For researchers unable to travel to Sacramento, the staff will supply the names of private researchers who do this type of work for a fee.

CLAREMONT COLLEGES

Ruth Hauser, Special Collections Department Head
Hannold Library
Claremont, California 91711
(714) 626-8511

China Missionaries Oral History Project, interviews primarily with people now living in Southern California; 19 out of 44 interviews are with women; also available on microfilm in some libraries

General Oral History Project of Claremont Colleges, 12 out of approximately 70 interviews are with women; the majority of the interviews concern the history of the Claremont Colleges and Southern California

Ward, Mrs. Humphry, author; manuscripts, notebooks, and correspondence with her publishers

FEDERAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS CENTER, LAGUNA NIGUEL

National Archives and Records Service
James L. Byers, Chief, Archives Branch
2400 Avila Road
Laguna Niguel, California 92677
(714) 831-4220

Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, including school and medical records; research in these files is limited to records older than 75 years

Records of the Office of Economic Opportunity, including community profile containing reports with poverty indices and selected aspects of various sources of the area
Records of the United States District Courts, including criminal, civil, equity, naturalization, bankruptcy, and Chinese exclusion cases

FEDERAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS CENTER, SAN BRUNO

National Archives and Records Service
Jo Ann Williamson, Chief, Archives Branch
1000 Commodore Drive
San Bruno, California 94066
(415) 876-9009

Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1790-1850 and 1870-1900, microfilm. The 1900 census, the richest in detail, must be used in the search room of the Archives Branch, but all other census microfilm may be borrowed on interlibrary loan.

Records of the Bureau of Customs, 1849 to present. Original records from San Francisco include correspondence concerning enforcement of navigation and passenger laws, customs regulations, and Chinese immigration after the 1882 exclusion act.

Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for Northern California and Nevada, including letters, school and tribal censuses, accounting records, student folders, agency decimal files, registers of vital statistics, and narrative and statistical reports
Records of the Farm Security Administration; 1935-1946; reports, correspondence, newspaper clippings, snapshots, and miscellaneous items relating to migratory labor camps in California's Central Valley

Records of the Government of American Samoa; records of the High Court, 1900-1966; records of the governor's office; and records of the attorney general's office, 1931-1965

Records of the U.S. Attorney; records of the Hindu Conspiracy Trial of 1917 in which Annette Adams, the first woman to be appointed to the U.S. Attorney's Office, served; tapes of broadcasts of Radio Tokyo's "Zero Hour," programs from July 14, 1944, to August 14, 1945 (some used in the trial of the alleged "Tokyo Rose")

Records of the U.S. District Courts; Northern District of California, 1851-1950 and District of Nevada, 1865-1953; civil and criminal actions, naturalization and other proceedings. Perusal of the various case file index books, presently in the clerk's office, might reveal litigation involving a female plaintiff or defendant. The court cases including business firms may also reveal employment or other data concerning women. For example, the Levi Strauss patent infringement cases included testimony stating the number of women employees in various capacities. The court records are particularly useful in studying Chinese women. Because of the various immigration laws, many Chinese immigrants appeared in the district court on a

writ of habeas corpus. These cases often include a passport with a photograph, a statement of wealth or occupation, and sometimes testimony about previous residency in the United States. Chinese women were often accused of being involved in prostitution, and these cases usually contain photographs and statements concerning the personal history and character of the defendant, as well as court testimony and other legal papers.

Records of the War Manpower Commission, 1942-1945, for Region XII, San Francisco and Honolulu. The Commission recruited labor for war and essential civilian industries, trained labor for essential jobs, analyzed manpower utilization to increase efficiency, and accumulated labor market information.

HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Milorad M. Drachkovitch, Archivist
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305
(415) 321-2300

Bisbee, Eleanor, American professor at American University in Istanbul; papers, 16 boxes, 4 folders, 1918-1956

Fellowship of Reconciliation, correspondence and ephemera, 1 folder, 1917-1943 (relating to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

Jordan, David Starr, correspondence, 1 foot, 1911-1925 (with women pacifists, such as Jane Addams, and materials relating to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

International Congress of Women, resolutions, 13 pages, 1919
Luxemburg, Rosa, German revolutionist; diaries and letters, 2 boxes, 1913-1918

Park, Alice, American pacifist; correspondence, pamphlets, leaflets, and reports relating to feminism, pacifism, socialism, communism, and conscientious objection, 24 feet, 1914-1920

Patrick, Mary Mills, American president of Constantinople Woman's College, 1890-1924; memoirs, 1 volume, 1919-1924

Richardson, Mrs. James, Nebraska newspaper clippings and campaign banners related to women's suffrage, 1 folder, 1919-1920

Schmidt, Frieda, German pacifist; diary, 1 box, 1932-1945

Schwimmer, Rosika, Hungarian feminist and pacifist; correspondence, petitions, clippings, and photographs, 1 foot, 1914-1937 (relating to feminism, pacifism, the Henry Ford Peace Expedition of 1915, the International Congress of Women, and the 1937 presentation to her of the World Peace Prize)

Wales, Nym, American correspondent with the Chinese Communist forces in Yenan; papers, 15 feet, 1933-1950

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

Jean F. Preston, Curator of Manuscripts
Manuscripts Division
San Marino, California 91108
(213) 792-6141

Akins, Zoe, 9,000 pieces, 1807-1951

Anthony Family, 306 pieces, 1844-1945

Austin, Mary Hunter, 11,000 pieces, 1861-1950

Barton, Clara Harlow, 44 pieces, 1850-1890

Bronte, Charlotte, 125 pieces, 1832-1854

Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 79 pieces, 1827-1858

Colby, Clara Bewick, 237 pieces, 1882-1914

Coolbrith, Ina Donna, 950 pieces, 1876-1932

Cornell, Sarah Hughes, 97 pieces, 1899-1939

Dodge, Mary Elizabeth Mapes, 65 pieces, 1866-1891

Eddy, Mary Baker, 180 pieces, 1889-1909

Harbert, Elizabeth Boynton, 4,400 pieces, 1863-1925

Harper, Ida Husted, 235 pieces, 1841-1919

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 160 pieces, 1852-1887

Kelly, Frances Maria, 200 pieces, 1810-1880

Levien, Sonya, 1,280 pieces, 1908-1962

Mitford, Mary Russell, 64 pieces, 1847-1854

Montagu, Elizabeth Robinson, 6,923 pieces, 1732-1800

Newman, Emma E., 200 pieces, 1845-1921

Opie, Amelia Alderson, 364 pieces, 1794-1854

Park, Alice Locke, 795 pieces, 1796-1953

Russell, Mary Annette Beauchamp, Countess Russell, ca. 1300 pieces, 1890-1960

Severance, Caroline M. Seymour, feminist and women's club pioneer

Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft, 167 items, 1817-1849

Sitwell, Edith, 55 pieces, 1913-1915

Smith, Charlotte Turner, 46 pieces, 1794-1806

Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 210 items, 1853-1888

Terry, Ellen, 26 pieces, 1887-1931

Whitman, Narcissa, Overland Journey Diary

In addition, the Huntington Library has a number of letters and manuscripts of prominent American women including Gertrude Atherton, Willa Cather, Jessie Benton Fremont, Mary Hallock Foote, and Julia Ward Howe, and letters by Rebecca Jones, Eliza Leslie, Dolly Madison, Mercy Otis Warren, and Martha Washington. Among British women, there are manuscripts of Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, Elizabeth Cleghorn, Stevenson Gaskell, Mary Ann Evans Cross [George Eliot], Christina Georgina Rossetti, and many others. Also available are letters between Civil War soldiers and their wives, and assorted New England family papers.



Like their Anglo counterparts, the experiences of low-income Mexican-American women in the nineteenth century were rarely recorded and even less frequently preserved in archives.

MENLO PARK LIBRARY

Civic Center

Joann S. Warfel, Local History Librarian

Menlo Park, California 94025

(415) 325-3211

Kiefer, Mrs. Angela, oral history interview transcript

MILLS COLLEGE LIBRARY, ALBERT M. BENDER ROOM

Flora Elizabeth Reynolds, Librarian

Oakland, California 94613

(415) 632-2700

General Manuscript Collection

Dawson, Emma Frances, 6 letters

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 2 letters

Lafayette, Marie J.P.R.Y.G. de Motier, 1 letter

Peabody, Josephine Preston, 1 manuscript

Rossetti, Christina, 5 letters

Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 1 letter

Widdemer, Margaret, 1 letter

Wiggin, Kate Douglas, 1 letter

Wolf, Virginia, 1 letter

Young, Ella, 2 letters and 2 manuscripts

Albert M. Bender Correspondence, 1920-1941

Ackerman, Phyllis, 30 letters

Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, 13 letters

Anglin, Margaret, 6 letters

Atherton, Gertrude, 16 letters

Benson, Stella, 32 letters

Bottome, Phyllis, 9 letters

Bremer, Anne M., 222 letters and 19 manuscripts

Cadwalader, Dorothea, 31 letters

Conkling, Hilda, 7 letters

Coolbrith, Ina, 85 letters

Crawford, Dorothy, 6 letters

Damon, Bertha Clark Pope, 125 letters

Emmet, Katherine, 27 letters

Field, Sara Bard, 89 letters

Flanner, Hildegard, 28 letters and 7 manuscripts

Foote, Elvira, 34 letters

Gabrilowitsch, Clara Clemens, 14 letters

Gidlow, Elsa, 9 letters

Hamilton, Florence, 21 letters

Hersch, Helen Virginia, 8 letters

Hume, Portia Bell, M.D., 6 letters

Irwin, Inez Haynes Gillmore, 18 letters

Jeffers, Una, 206 letters

Liebes, Dorothy Wright, 17 letters

London, Charmain, 41 letters

Luhan, Mabel Dodge, 8 letters

McCarthy, Consuela Kanaga, 60 letters

Markham, Anna, 34 letters

Mayhew, Joyce, 16 letters

Minty, Dorothy, 12 letters

Newton, Caroline, 25 letters

O'Brennan, Kathleen, 31 letters

Panteleieff, Consuelo Cloos, 28 letters

Parker, Cornelia Stratton, 12 letters

Peixotto, Jessica B., 9 letters

Phillips, Catherine Cole, 12 letters

Powers, Laura Bride, 17 letters

Purnell, Idella, 51 letters

Reed, Alma, 24 letters

Reinhardt, Aurelia Henry, 131 letters

Richardson, Mary Curtis, 16 letters

Rourke, Constance Mayfield, 8 letters

St. Denis, Ruth, 53 letters

Schaffner, Sara, 10 letters

Spinney, Dorothea, 10 letters

Taggard, Genevieve, 33 letters and 1 manuscript

Taylor, Mildred, 13 letters

Welch, Marie, 95 letters

Winter, Ella, 15 letters

Yeats, Elizabeth C., 57 letters

Young, Ella, 118 letters

James and Emma S. Cameron Papers, 1846-1876

Ashton, Henrietta Rossi (Mrs. Thomas B. Ashton), 12 letters

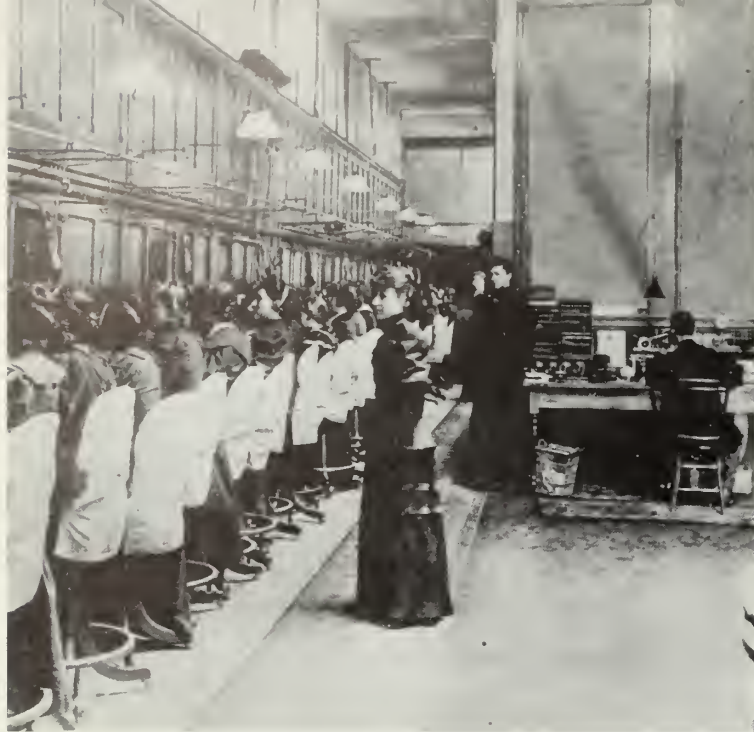
Cameron, Emma, 192 letters

Cooper, Sarah Brown Ingersoll, 41 letters

Mozier, Isabella, 20 letters

Emma Clark Papers, 1822-1841

103 items written by or relating to Emma Cornelia Clark of



San Francisco's telephone exchange at 216 Bush Street offered employment for many women who supported families. Next to Addie Fetter (center) stands Alice Sheridan Coyle, who served as chief operator in 1894 and became the first female traffic manager for Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Cooperstown, New York, who married the clergyman, William D. Strobel. Includes a drawing signed by Lucretia Davidson and the plan for an addition to her poem, "Maritovne."

Hitchcock-Coit Papers, ca. 1730-1929

In addition to papers relating to the family forebears, the Hunters of Virginia, there are many letters, business papers, and diaries of Lillie Hitchcock Coit and her mother, Martha Hunter Hitchcock. There are also 147 letters written by Sallie Hunter (Mrs. Nathaniel Wyche Hunter), 13 by Mary E. Lucas, and notes and clippings belonging to Floride Green, biographer of Mrs. Coit.

David W. Prall and Margaret C. Prall, 1908-1954

Prall, Margaret C., 20 articles and speeches, some correspondence
Radin, Dorothea Prall (Mrs. Max Radin), manuscripts of 14 stories, songs, poems, sketches

College Archives

Papers relating to the history of Mills College, including the papers of Rosalind Keep, Susan Tolman Mills, and Aurelia Henry Reinhardt.

OAKLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY, CALIFORNIA ROOM

Frances Hurd Buxton, Senior Librarian
125 14th Street
Oakland, California 94612
(415) 273-3460

Atherton, Gertrude, author; 3 letters, 1926-1930

Austin, Mary, author; 4 letters, 2 cards, 1912-1916

Coolbrith, Ina, poet and first librarian of Oakland Public Library; 3 scrapbooks, 3 boxes, 1 folder, includes letters, manuscript of "Concha," address book, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and bronze plaque from Book Club of California, 1874-1928

Hume, Olive, reporter; 1 letter to Joaquin Miller, 1910

Le Prade, Ruth, poet; 1 letter, 1965

Leslie, Miriam (Mrs. Frank Leslie), writer, 6 letters to Joaquin Miller, 1907 and undated

London, Charmian, writer and Jack London's wife; 2 letters, 1909-1913

Miller, Juanita, author and daughter of Joaquin Miller; 1 diary, 1921 and 7 letters, 1941-1953

Morgan, Angela, friend of Ruth Le Prade; 2 letters, 1955 to Ruth Le Prade and undated

Older, Cora Miranda, author; 1 letter to Joaquin Miller, undated

Partington, Blanche, friend of Joaquin Miller; 1 letter, 1952

Sloan, Bessie, poet; 3 letters to Joaquin Miller, George Wharton

James, and editor of *Overland Monthly*, undated

Sloan, Vera, sister of Bessie Sloan; 1 letter, undated

POMONA PUBLIC LIBRARY

David Streeter, Special Collections Librarian
625 South Garey Avenue
Post Office Box 2271
Pomona, California 91766
(714) 620-2026

White, Alice, sister of Mabel E. White; diary, 1892

White, Mabel E., pioneer and osteopath; diary and record books, 1892-1956

White, Mary L., mother of Mabel E. White; diary, 1878-1930
Pomona Valley, history of, scrapbooks, oral history tapes

SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Serra Museum Research Library
Sylvia Arden, Research Librarian
Presidio Park, P.O. Box 81825
San Diego, California 92138
(714) 297-3258

Burbeck, Mrs. I., pharmacist; pharmacy diploma, 1901

Davidson, Winifred, historian, author, poet; unpublished manuscripts, newspaper columns on place names written by Mrs.

Davidson, photographs, biographical file containing certificates, awards, newspaper items, 1929-1963

Hulett, Alta (?-1877), first woman lawyer successful in San Diego practice, admitted to Bar 1872; correspondence, records, newspaper articles, including records pertaining to memorial marker on unmarked grave by San Diego women lawyers in 1957

Jackson, Helen Hunt, author; 2 letters (see Ephraim A. Morse collection for a letter to HHJ), 1883 and 1884

MacPhail, Elizabeth, attorney, author, historian; 2 scrapbooks, manuscripts, photographs, speeches, typed transcript of oral interview, 1930-1975

Rains, Marian, first local police judge; scrapbook, letters, photographs, newspaper articles, 1898-1942

Rice, Lillian, architect; sketches and photographs of homes and buildings, some biographical material, 1 folder, 1931-1938

Women's History

Rowans, Loleta Levets, musician and music teacher; scrapbook, programs, photographs, booklets, newspaper articles, 1888-1952
Schmucker, Clara A., contractor; 3 scrapbooks, typed transcript of oral interview, 1940-1970

Scripps, Ellen Browning, philanthropist; community awards, biographical notebook with newspaper clippings, photographs, 1890's-1932, thesis, 1958

Sessions, Kate, horticulturist; 8 handwritten diaries, medal, international award, newspaper and magazine articles, programs of dedication ceremonies, letter from George Marston, photographs, 1 box, 1883-1940

Stevenson, Alice Barnett Price, musician and composer; programs, certificates of graduation, typed and handwritten manuscripts, compositions, typed and handwritten letters, speeches, workbooks, photographs, notebooks of lecture notes, scrapbook, handwritten history of San Diego Opera Guild, correspondence relating to music activities and arrangements for guest artists in San Diego, 4 boxes, 1910-1975

Tingley, Madame Katherine, head of Theosophical Society, Point Loma; newspaper items in biographical file; legal ledger, *Tingley vs. Times-Mirror*, testimony in case; photographs; programs of lectures and musical events; letters of Staffan Kronberg while a student at Raja Yoga, 1913-1921, with frequent references to Madame Tingley; 1897-1929

Waterman, Hazel Wood, architect; workbooks, rough sketches of drawings and ideas for homes and buildings, handwritten manuscripts of her magazine articles, awards, photographs of homes and buildings designed by H. W. Waterman, original working drawings of 1910 restoration of Estudillo House, photographs, typed transcripts of interviews with her son, Waldo Waterman; 1 box and 1 folder, 1906-1929

SAN DIEGO PUBLIC LIBRARY, CALIFORNIA ROOM

Rhoda E. Kruse, Senior Librarian

820 E Street

San Diego, California 92101

(714) 236-5834

Anderson, Inez, journalist; early advice-to-lovelorn column, scrapbooks, 3 volumes, ca. 1910-1920's

Diffendorf, Grace (?-1961), author, teacher, rancher; 1 portfolio
Griffen, Vashti Rogers, poet and composer; music manuscripts, 2 portfolios, *n.d.*

Herreshoff, Constance (?-1966), music and drama critic; scrapbook, 35 volumes, 1934-1962

La Jolla Garden Club, minutes (incomplete), 2 volumes; scrapbooks, 3 volumes, 1941-1960

Morning Choral Club, scrapbook, 2 volumes *n.d.*

San Diego County Chamber of Commerce Ladies' Annex, minutes, 1 volume, 1889-1890

San Diego County Federation of Women's Clubs, informally compiled minutes, convention reports, etc., 9 volumes, *n.d.*

San Diego County Woman's Committee of the Councils of State

and National Defense, war history of, 1 volume

San Diego County women's clubs, 2 brief manuscript histories

Scripps, Ellen Browning (?-1932), philanthropist; thesis, scrapbook, manuscript, *n.d.*

Sessions, Kate (1857-1940), horticulturist; 3 volumes by Sessions, 6-volume scrapbooks about Sessions

SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY

Special Collections Department

Gladys Hansen, Senior Librarian and City Archivist

Civic Center

San Francisco, California 94102

(415) 558-3191

Bell, Lizzie, pioneer; manuscript journal, 1865 (describing overland journey from New York to San Francisco)

Casserly, Teresa, San Franciscan; 16 letters, 1861-1863

Coit, Lillie Hitchcock, prominent San Franciscan; pre-Civil War diary

Pleasant, Mary Ellen "Mammy," San Francisco black woman; manuscript material from 1860's and 1870's

SAN MATEO COUNTY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AND MUSEUM

Marion C. Holmes, Archivist

1700 West Hillsdale Blvd.

San Mateo, California 94402

(415) 574-6441

Clifford, Rue, South San Francisco teacher; photographs, transcripts and personal letters, 2 boxes, 3 folders, 1887-1964
Dandini, Countess Lillian Remillard, philanthropist; 4 folders, 1880-1973

Easterday, Sybil, artist; 5 folders, 1 scrapbook, 1876-1961

Girls' Club of Colma, minutes, accounts and correspondence, 1 folder, 1916-1941

Goodman, Marian, artist-newspaper staff writer; 9 folders, 1 book, 1901 to present

Ladies Aid of the First Methodist Church, Burlingame, a history compiled by Mrs. F. W. Watts, 1 folder, 1908-1937

Red Cross of San Mateo County, photographs, newspaper clippings and pamphlets, 7 folders, 1 scrapbook, 2 books, 1898 to present

Regnery, Dorothy, author-historian; 7 folders, 1917 to present

SCRIPPS COLLEGE, THE CLAREMONT COLLEGES

Ella Strong Denison Library

Sybil M. Fielder, Librarian

Claremont, California 91711

(714) 626-8511

Ida Rust Macpherson Collection

2000 volumes with emphasis on primary sources including fields



Demanding equal pay as well as equal access to jobs, women employees picketed a San Francisco firm in 1969.

of emancipation and reform, domestic history, westward expansion, and the humanist tradition. Included are an original 1695 edition of Mary Astell, a first edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, and a few original letters and autographs of Susan B. Anthony. Among the early imprints dated before 1860 in the collection, the earliest is a 1478 incunabulum, *La Historia D'Alexandro Magna*, printed by Dominican nuns in a convent outside of Florence. Also on file is a 1632 compilation of the Common Law of England: "The Lawes, Resolutions of Women's Rights; . . . A Methodicall Collection of such Statutes and Customs, with Cases, Opinions, and Arguments and points of Learning on the Law as doe properly Concerne Women."

There is as yet no inventory of the collection which focuses exclusively on the subject of women, but an abbreviated catalog of some of the earliest imprints was published in 1948. Selections on the history of women are being microfilmed by Research Publications, Inc., for inclusion in a national microfilming project, in cooperation with nine women's history archives.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Archives of American Art
M. H. de Young Museum
Dr. Paul J. Karlstrom, West Coast Area Director
Golden Gate Park
San Francisco, California 94118
(415) 688-1880

The Archives of American Art, a Bureau of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., with a regional center at the de Young Museum in San Francisco, is a membership organization funded through contributions, membership subscriptions, special events, and federal funding. Its holdings include more than 2000 collections of papers of American artists. Each collection received is described, cataloged, microfilmed, and made available to qualified researchers. The film of the collection is available at each of the four regional centers and at the Smithsonian. Some American western women included in the collection are Ruth Arner, Joan Brown, Alice B. Chittenden, Imogene Cunningham, Jay DeFoe, and Nell Sinton. Others include Cecelia Beaux, Mary Cassatt, Dorothy Dreier, and Louise Nevelson. *A Checklist of the Collection*, printed in April, 1975, is available.

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS

Irene Lichens, Librarian
456 McAllister
San Francisco, California 94102
(415) 861-5278

This exclusively male organization has a very active Women's Auxiliary and Daughters of California Pioneers. The papers of the male pioneers contain some letters and diaries of pioneer women.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Susan R. Rosenberg, Assistant Archivist
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305
(415) 497-4055

Bailey, Margery (1891-1963), author, professor of English at Stanford; 2 feet
Mosher, Clelia Duel (1863-1940), physician and professor at Stanford; 3 feet (includes a short biography of Dr. Mosher by Mary Roberts Coolidge)
Stanford, Jane Lanthrop (1828-1905), co-founder of Stanford; 8 feet

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Patricia J. Palmer, Manuscripts Librarian
Department of Special Collections
Stanford, California 94305
(415) 497-4054

Unpublished detailed registers are available for the contents of the following collections. A card index to these registers also indicates major correspondents and subject areas. All major collections are listed in the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*.

American Authors and Literature, literary manuscripts and letters of American writers, including Ina Coolbrith, 1840-1956

Anderson Family Papers, ca. 45,000 items including papers of Melville Best Anderson, Stanford professor English, 1848-1948

British Authors and Literature, literary manuscripts and letters of the British Commonwealth, including Katherine Mansfield, 1800-1960

Clarke, Eric and Ruth, China missionaries; papers concern Oriental art, Japanese prison camp internment, World War II, Chinese folklore, 1904-1968

Colt Press Papers, business record and correspondence of Jane Grabhorn's San Francisco Press, 1920-1973

Cooke, Philos and Louise Stevens, papers concern Tahiti, Arizona, Pitcairn Island, 19 items, 1907-1936

Davis, Angela, Defense Committee Papers, unprocessed

Draper, Anne, papers concern agriculture, farm labor, United

Farm Workers Union, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL-CIO, 1959-1971

Elkins, Kate Felton, 5 scrapbooks

Field, Isobel, stepdaughter of R. L. Stevenson; papers, 60 items, 1949-1955

Fiske, Turbese Lummis, typescripts and correspondence, ca. 250 items

Footte, Mary Hallock, author; ca. 575 items, 1863-1924

Gerber, Merrill Joan, literary manuscript, 3 items

Gibbons, A. S. and Sarah Cloud, correspondence concerning the

Bay Area, Santa Clara and Jason A. Krebs, 29 items, 1852-1857

Hadden, Anne, letters by authors, Stanford faculty, ca. 100 items, 1858-1935

Knight, Virginia C. (Mrs. Goodwin J.), unprocessed

Lewis, James, letters to Annie Law, 5 volumes, concerns shell collecting, 1868-1873

Lewis, Janet, novelist; manuscripts including the opera, *The Wife of Martin Guerre*, 500 items

Lind, Jenny and Otto Goldschmidt, papers, music and letters, ca. 500 items, 1848-1849, 1860, 1867

Norris, Charles G. and Kathleen, manuscripts, ca. 100 items

Park, Alice, papers concern planned parenthood, birth control, 40 items, 1920-1936

Parsons, Lucene Puffer, typescript "The Women in the Sunbonnets," 1850

Pierce Family, Manila, P.I., Boston; papers concern mercantile trade, 3,200 items, 1856-1890

Rose, Alice M., typescripts of letters, journals, autobiographies, reports of interviews regarding Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League, ca. 1000 items, 1900-1939

Smith, Erna Hollwer, author of children's books; letters, clipping, manuscripts

Smith, Lorna, correspondence, scrapbooks, clippings, concerning SNCC and local authors including Theodore Dreiser and Upton Sinclair, ca. 97 items, 1964-1968

Steele, Joseph Henry, research papers on Ingrid Bergman, some unrelated miscellany, 1927-1967

Stegner, Wallace, author of *Angle of Repose*; background research on Mary Hallock Footte, ca. 1847-1889

Wiggin, Kate Douglas, kindergarten system, 9 items, ca. 1884

Williams, Mary Wilhelmine, 600 items concerning Latin America, Dom Pedro of Brazil and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1921-1944

Younger, J. Arthur, U.S. Representative, San Mateo County, California; papers, ca. 75,000 items; 1954-1964 and ca. 17,000 items, 1963-1967

The photographs in this article are from the CHS Photograph Archives.

Book Reviews

Water and the West: The Colorado River Compact and the Politics of Water in the American West.

By Norris Hundley, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975, xxi, 395 pp. Illustrations. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by Paul S. Taylor, professor of economics, emeritus, University of California, Davis.

West of Meridian 100 water is in short supply. Arid and semiarid land is expansive, vastly beyond the capacity of man to bring water to irrigate it. As a result, competition to obtain water between regions is keen. Nowhere in the West is this more true than in the Colorado River Basin, which stretches from Wyoming southward between Arizona and California and across the Mexican boundary into the Gulf of California. Centuries ago Indians had diverted the basin's waters for irrigation, notably in the vicinity of Casa Grande in Arizona. Major irrigation by white men awaited the turn of the twentieth century.

Unified planning for the best use of land and water throughout the basin has been generally lacking. Instead, unending political battles over division of the waters has marked the century since Major John Wesley Powell explored the river and published his landmark 1878 Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States.

When private enterprisers began to divert Colorado River waters into Imperial Valley in 1901, the complexity of the problem quickly became visible. Some aspects were physical and financial, some were political, and these were intertwined. Challenged by national interests represented by the Reclamation Service created in 1902, private interests sought escape from federal control by going below the international boundary to divert water from the Mexican side, bringing it back into the United States through canals. Before long the Imperial Valley was threatened with inundation when the silt banks at the point of diversion gave way. Private enterprise and the federal government came to the rescue. The Southern Pacific repaired the breach and the government contributed financially. To prevent enlargement of Mexico's interests in the river became the prime California motivation for a quarter of a century leading to construction of an All-American Canal from the Colorado into Imperial Valley. Over these decades private enterprise faded out, and the role of the public in water development enlarged. Thus the Imperial Valley was in microcosm what development of the Colorado's waters was to become.

As awareness of the potentials of further development of the basin's waters increased, so came growing interest in machinery to achieve and to apportion its benefits. Primary reliance on federal agencies to say where the waters should go was rejected. Instead, the western region took responsibility into its own hands and arranged to arrive at decisions through negotiations between the states of the basin. Their interests were divided notably between states of the upper and the lower basins and in the latter, between California and Arizona.

The outcome was a compact negotiated in 1923 but not ratified by the last state until 1944. As the author of *Water and the West* points out, "The decision to negotiate represented no end to controversy." On the contrary, it "set the stage for years of additional strife" and over three decades produced "three appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court."

Aside from the judicial, the role of the federal government survives as the main instrument for funding and construction. A towering achievement is Boulder Canyon Dam with the All-American Canal. Aspiration today is for more construction with eyes cast on waters of the Columbia River and hopes to divert them into the Colorado Basin. This shifts and enlarges the areas of conflict and adjustment between contending interests. *Water in the West* is thoroughly documented and beautifully written, an exceptionally fine piece of historical writing. Although it ends with the 1975 present, it provides a sound foundation of understanding that will serve well for a long future.

The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands

By Max L. Moorehead (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. xiii, 288 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$9.95)

Reviewed by Col. William F. Strobridge, author of several articles on the Army in the West.

The Presidio portrays the line of small adobe forts which marked New Spain's inland advance north from Mexico City. Max Moorehead of the University of Oklahoma dug into the archives in Seville, Mexico City, and Santa Fe to find out how the presidios functioned and what they accomplished.

Constantly in need of repair, these seventy small military posts on New Spain's frontier had impact ably described and analyzed by Professor Moorehead who focuses on the presidios of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and the five northern states of the Republic of Mexico. Lest the California reader be misled, Moorehead quickly points out that he excluded the four Alta California presidios from his study because in his view they had different purposes to serve and came under dissimilar governmental regulations.

Initially set up in the 1570's to protect central Mexico's silver mine traffic, the presidios grew in number and size with expanded tasks to safeguard settlements, missions, and highways on Spain's wild northern frontier. Through the seventeenth century the presidios remained uncoordinated outposts, their ability to respond sapped by poor provisions and continual payroll frauds. A lengthy viceregal-ordered inspection of the presidios resulted in a 1729 regulation for the discipline, administration, and financial management of all posts. Payroll padding was to cease, presidio captains were told to insure that their men were properly equipped and performed guard duty, and soldiers were enjoined to refrain from swearing. Regulation of the presidios was followed by the appointment in 1776 of one single officer in charge of frontier military operations.

The interior-located presidios were built on a rectangular pattern by a combination of soldier and Indian labor, just as in California. Garrisoned by a special military organization, the buckskin-coated presidial soldier was more heavily armed than Spanish regulars and had a string of from six to ten horses. He signed on for a ten-year enlistment, far more than the three-to-five year hitch of his US Army frontier counterpart a century later. Moorehead attributes an 8 per cent literacy rate to presidio enlisted men, but, unlike the American Army in the West, New Spain's presidio garrisons were 95 per cent married men. While the presidios brought a civilizing influence to the borderlands, the author found no evidence of the military payroll stimulating frontier economy.

Lacking extensive and sophisticated defensive works, the presidios assumed the main burden of protecting New Spain's northern bounds from Indian depredations and European competitors. Problems of troop pay and supply persisted to the end. Moorehead concludes that the presidio had a lasting effect on the frontier for guaranteeing the survival of Spanish influence, attracting civilian settlers, and improvising as an Indian agency.

The book includes plans for twenty-one Spanish North

American presidios found in the British Museum(!), five maps, useful footnotes, a bibliography, and an index. *The Presidio*, an erudite record and analysis of an establishment's historical growth, could easily serve as a model for a study of California's four presidios.

The Engineering of Abundance: An Oral History Memoir

By Roy Bainer. (Davis: Oral History Center, University Library, University of California, Davis, 1975. 449 pp. Photos, index. \$40.00.)

*Reviewed by Reynold M. Wik, professor of history,
emeritus, Mills College, Oakland.*

Roy Bainer's *Memoirs* constitute a meritorious addition to the biographical series produced by the Oral History Center of the University of California at Davis. This volume, based on the interviews conducted by A. I. Dickman, presents an illuminating account of California's most famous agricultural engineer. For over forty years, Professor Bainer remained in the center of the technological revolution which made it possible for California to produce almost one-fourth of all food consumed by the people of the United States.

The career of Roy Bainer is a success story blending the best of Benjamin Franklin and Horatio Alger. Born in rural Kansas in 1902, he learned about dirt farming from the business end of a pitch fork and the seat of an early 10-20 Titan Tractor. After wide experience in farm mechanics, he received his Masters degree from Kansas State University. After serving on the faculty there from 1926 to 1929, he moved to the University of California at Davis in 1929. Here he rose through the ranks to full professor in 1943, chairman of the department of agricultural engineering from 1947 to 1961, and dean of engineering from 1962 until his retirement in 1969.

These recollections possess a dramatic quality because Professor Bainer was deeply involved in innovative research projects which produced some of the most sophisticated machinery currently used in growing and harvesting such crops as sugar beets, rice, cotton, tomatoes, lettuce, asparagus, beans, onions, alfalfa, walnuts, and fruit. The invention of the mechanical tomato picker and tree-



An impressive array of farm equipment, farm workers, and draft horses assembled for this brimful photograph taken in Ventura County in the late-nineteenth century. The Gillow machine for threshing barley preceded the sophisticated machinery developed by agricultural engineers such as Roy Bainer that enabled California farmers to increase crop production while reducing labor hours.

shaker devices for picking fruit are but two examples of the new technology.

This research and development led to increased production of crops while reducing the hours of labor, two factors which were needed to win World War II and to feed the people in non-industrialized countries in the post-war period. Because of his vast knowledge, his pragmatism, and his ability to get results, Professor Bainer's services as a consultant were in great demand. He assisted the British Ministry of Agriculture in 1945 and the United States Occupation Forces in Japan in 1948, and he made scores of subsequent consulting trips to aid the governments of Chile, Peru, Cuba, Guatemala, Brazil, Laos, Thailand, and Spain.

Meanwhile, he did a superb job in directing a wide range of research projects, keeping in touch with private corporations, supervising a large faculty staff, and doing his own research. He collaborated in writing two text books and published over 100 articles in various journals. Encouraged by Dr. James H. Shideler, of the same university, he initiated the move to secure the outstanding F. Hal Higgins collection of the history of farm machinery for the Library on the Davis campus. In 1969, the Regents of the University of California voted to name the engineering building at Davis in his honor and awarded him an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree in which the citation included such laudatory phrases as "inspiring teacher," brilliant

researcher," "able administrator," and "world leader in mechanized agriculture."

These *Memoirs* are expressed in well-organized, lucid prose which incorporates significant information, lively anecdotes, and pertinent human interest material, all of which make an excellent biography of an imaginative engineer who modestly shared his triumphs with his colleagues. Here is a man who loved people as well as machines.

Those wishing additional information or purchasing procedures relative to this biography should direct inquiries to the Oral History Center, Department of Special Collections, Shields Library, University of California, Davis, California 95616, or phone (916) 752-3163.

Chavez and the Farm Workers

By Ronald B. Taylor. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975. x, 342 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, reviews editor.

Another book on Cesar Chavez? Probably no one in recent California history has been the subject of more book-length studies than Chavez; thus, the first question that must be asked about Ronald Taylor's new work: "Is this

book really necessary?" The answer is yes, for *Chavez and the Farm Worker* includes a wealth of new information and, most important for our purposes, places Chavez and the United Farm Workers union in excellent historical perspective.

Part of the book's strength comes from the fact that Taylor is a *Fresno Bee* reporter who has been covering stories on social and economic conditions in rural California for more than twenty years. He has observed the Delano movement since its beginning in 1965 and personally knows most of the United Farm Workers leadership. Much of the book is based on interviews, not only with Chavez and a host of others who are or have been associated with him, but also with labor contractors and growers (including Ernest Gallo and John Guimarra, Jr.) who have fought the UFW.

Another of the book's strengths is the fact that Taylor has lived in the San Joaquin Valley all his life and has a strong interest in its history. More than 100 of the 300 pages of text deal with events that occurred before the 1965 Delano strike. While some of this background is familiar biographical material on Chavez, much of it deals with past labor struggles in California fields. For example, Taylor includes a fascinating account of the 1933 Pixley cotton workers strike, based on interviews with a former labor organizer for the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and a retired justice court constable. He also covers attempts to organize farm labor unions in the 1940's and 1950's, a topic often ignored by writers who skip directly from the great upheavals of the 1930's to Cesar Chavez in the 1960's.

While not a fanatical *Chavista*, Taylor does not hide his support for the UFW; he dedicates the book to the "farm workers, may their collective strength prevail." But his interviews allow growers, labor contractors, and anti-Chavez workers to tell their side of the conflict. Often Taylor shows understanding if not agreement with their point of view. But he wastes no sympathy on the UFW's chief rival, the Teamster union. Referring to Teamster support for Richard Nixon in 1972, Taylor claims, "it became obvious that the most politically corrupt, most discredited presidential administration in the history of this nation was in an alliance with the scandal-ridden Teamster's union to help agribusiness rid itself of a farm workers effort to form a democratic union."

Yet Taylor's perceptive observations about the internal workings of the UFW may help to explain why significant numbers of workers have chosen the Teamsters in recent

elections held under California's new farm labor law. He points out serious operational weaknesses in the administration of union hiring halls and the activities of union ranch committees and blames Chavez himself for some of these problems. But Taylor is probably correct in concluding that the UFW's most serious problem is the continued presence of large numbers of illegal Mexican immigrants in the workforce. The illegals weaken the bargaining position of resident farm workers and thus weaken the union itself.

Chavez and the Farm Worker is an important contribution to the written history of the farm labor movement in California. For the present-day reader, it provides a valuable background to the drama that currently is unfolding in California fields. For the future scholar, it will be an indispensable source on which to base judgments about the historical role and significance of Cesar Chavez and the UFW.

Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California

By George Harwood Phillips. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. xi, 225 pp. Maps, plates. \$10.95.)

Walker River Paiutes: A Tribal History

By Edward C. Johnson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974. 201 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$8.00.)

Reviewed by Robert F. Heizer, professor of anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, and author of numerous publications on Indians in California.

I fear that Native Californian readers of Professor Phillips' book (as well as this review) will see it only as another of the white's efforts to write the Indian's history. That is true, of course, and historians can ask, "Where is the Indian history, written, as it should be, by Indians?" The answer is, "Paciencia. It will come." But in the meanwhile, Professor Phillips' book which deals with the intra-Indian and Indian-white situation in Southern California from about 1846 to 1860 can stand as an objective ethnohistorical narrative (adequately factually documented) of the complicated interplay of native and white personalities and the struggle of a series of Indian nations to survive the American onslaught. The Californios with their special interests provided a complicating factor. This is a difficult

kind of story to piece together from documents, and Phillips has done a superb job.

The Mission Period is treated very briefly, and the aboriginal sociopolitical structures of the Southern California tribes (Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño, Diegueño) are summarized. Much of the book is taken up with the Garra Uprising of 1851 led by Antonio Garra, a Luiseño with considerable talents as a resistance organizer. A few whites and Native Californians were killed, and the Indian leaders were hung or shot by the US military. The Americans took heed and instituted some programs (none of them effective) for Indian welfare. The author summarizes it all in the final chapter.

The book contains too many typographical mistakes, a few of them serious (Siouian for Siouan, p. 7; waist for wrist, p. 30; Redrick McGee for Redick McKee, p. 69). A few important villages (e.g. Politana) are not shown on a map; Maps 1, 3, and 4 lack a scale. These detract from an excellent work issued by a prestigious publishing press.

Edward C. Johnson's *Walker River Paiutes: a Tribal History* is a good piece of research and writing. Based on documentary materials, published and archival, and on a large number of taped interviews, the book is a straightforward chronological history of events and personalities concerning the Northern Paiute band of Walker Lake, Nevada, whose native name is Agai (trout) eaters. The unattributed map (p. 8) of Northern Paiute bands is taken from O. C. Stewart (Anthropological Records 2(3), 1939). As an outline record of acculturation it is good, but the fuller details are still to be presented.

If the reader will return to the first two sentences of this review, he will be interested to learn that Mr. Johnson is a Native Nevadan, and here is one of those hoped-for Indian histories written by Indians.

Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867.

By Howard I. Kushner. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1975. xii, 228 pp. \$13.95.)

Reviewed by C. Bickford O'Brien, professor emeritus of Russian history, University of California, Davis.

In a world living with the uncertainties of superpower rivalry and the restraints that domestic issues impose on

foreign policy, it is illuminating to recall earlier conflicts of today's giants and to see how they were resolved. The author of this work tells us that his research in Pacific Northwest history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led him to question the consensus of previous historians that Russian-American relations of the period were cordial and that the tradition of friendship enabled the tsarist government to rid itself of "a worthless possession." On the contrary, he argues, relations between the two nations before 1867 involved rivalry and conflict bordering on hostility which gradually persuaded a reluctant tsarist government to sell its American possessions before the United States seized them.

In the space of 158 pages of text the author highlights the background and larger issues of the Northwest struggle, focusing upon the views and endeavors of prominent individuals who influenced the outcome. Other scholars have dealt with the Alaskan purchase at length, but the new element in Kushner's study is the unqualified stress placed on the presence of rivalry and conflict in Russian-American relations and on Russia's fear of American designs on Alaska.

The American side of the story is well-organized and narrated in a clear if prosaic style. The picture that emerges is one of mounting pressure upon the federal government in Washington from American traders, whalers, settlers, and businessmen to protect their interests against Russian efforts to limit trade and the exploitation of natural resources within the Russian-American Company's sphere. In this connection we hear of many tensions, rhetorical attacks, and complaints on both sides, but relatively little about the effects of Russian and American distrust of Great Britain, the evidences of Russian-American rapprochement during the 1860's, or about concrete acts of hostility involving Russians and Americans.

It is on the Russian side of the account that more serious shortcomings of methodology and research are manifested. In assembling evidence to support his arguments Kushner paraphrases key statements of Russian officials too freely and without adequate documentation. In other cases he makes strong assertions about "Russian" policy makers, the "inner circles of the Russian government," and "some of the influential press" without making clear whom he has in mind. Above all he fails to establish the priority of Russian America in the collective mind of the court and foreign office in Saint Petersburg, to contrast the attitudes toward the territory of eight different foreign ministers, and to show the general character and resources of the

Russian-American community. Nowhere is there a vivid picture of life at Sitka or of the atmosphere in other settlements, or of the mentality of the *promyshlenniki*. Instead we read of the anguish, protests, and stances of top officials, often based on secondary accounts, which presumably explain why the Russians were prepared to cede Alaska.

This study deals with a subject that has long awaited reappraisal. Unfortunately, the limited scope of its inquiry leaves its thesis weakly supported. One wonders why, for example, the Runiantsev and Mordvinov papers, Lada-Morcarski's *Bibliography of Books on Alaska*, or the studies of scholars like Andreyev, Fedorova, Khlebnikov, and Shashkov were not included in the bibliography. Valid though the conclusions may be, they presently rest on data that is inconclusive.

L.A. in the Thirties, 1931-1941.

By David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton.
(Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975. 165 pp.
Illustrations. Paper \$8.50.)

Reviewed by Margaret S. Proskauer, M. A., architectural history, University of California, Santa Barbara.

To professional planners and laymen alike, Los Angeles has been and probably will continue to be one of the most controversial cities in the world. Long before the city gained its prominence of the sixties because of the art scene and business activity it produced, the city had aroused ecstatic praise by some and noisy rejection by others. Major issues of disagreement have been Los Angeles' ostensible lack of planning, its domination by the automobile and the resulting network of freeways, and its architecture—as immodestly fanciful and vital as it can be monotonous and uninspired. One of Los Angeles' most famous architects, Richard Neutra, may have come to the heart of the issue when he queried at the end of the thirties, "Was this metropolis a paradise or did there exist here a blight which fitted none of the classical descriptions?"

Unfortunately, one of the results of such emotional attitudes towards Los Angeles has been that until recently, the city has usually been by-passed by architectural historians. Consequently, many commonly-held beliefs about the city have really been myths resulting from the lack of an in-depth study of its evolution as an urban

environment. David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton's eye-opening book, *L.A. in the Thirties*, takes Los Angeles as its subject matter in the pioneering spirit of recent studies of contemporary Los Angeles, Las Vegas, and Pop architecture by Reyner Banham, Robert Venturi, and J. B. Jackson. However, Gebhard and Von Breton deal with Los Angeles during its coming of age—during the thirties—and remain close to the documentary role of architectural historians without assuming the advocate's viewpoint evidenced by the other writers.

Nevertheless, the authors' great appreciation for Los Angeles does flavor the text. Although the style can vary from heady enthusiasm (as in the otherwise excellent introduction) to a somewhat grating concern with the socio-economic standing of magazines and clients ("posh," "high-art," "middle-brow," and "the rich few" or "wealthy elite"), the reader is easily propelled from chapter to chapter by the well-documented analysis of the unusual subject matter. Especially interesting are the striking and unorthodox illustrations. These include a wistful shot of Los Angeles in 1939 without smog; gas stations, supermarkets, and cinemas; freeway plans; the gala, nighttime opening of Grauman's Chinese Theater; and furniture designed by the avant-garde modernists.

Gebhard and Von Breton ascribe Los Angeles' emergence as a major center in the thirties to an impressive variety of influences. One of the most potent of these seems to have been a vigorous public affairs campaign aimed at Los Angeles, which even managed to dull the realities of the Depression. According to one writer of the thirties in the *Los Angeles Times*, "Much of the Depression is psychological." In fact, Los Angeles did show a faster and stronger economic recovery than any other urban center before 1941, which together with the influence of the "ideas, men, and space" that the authors' describe in detail, accounted for Los Angeles' enormous growth and unique evolution during this period.

One of the great strengths of the book is the convincing analysis of many of the most perplexing qualities of Los Angeles, such as the almost overwhelming hold of the automobile there and how it became a central focus in planning. The authors also explode several myths about the city, one of the most fascinating of which surrounds its apparent lack of planning. The authors reveal that the city was in fact the subject of a 1941 planning commission which decided on a general philosophy of decentralization. Rather than encouraging a strong central urban core, the commission focused on the creation of small towns and

suburban areas, each with its own commercial strips and shopping centers and later to be linked together by freeway systems. Together with these interests, the commission firmly espoused the merits of the single-family dwelling. Contradicting another erroneous belief about Los Angeles, the authors point out that this outlook has given the city an extremely low population density.

While it is refreshing to read a book on a non-traditional subject in architecture that does not delight in horrifying one segment of its readers while making converts of another, the authors have neglected to mention important issues in Los Angeles' evolution that might be construed as negative. Isn't another by-product of decentralization the controversial issue of "urban sprawl"? And hasn't the free rein given to the automobile contributed to a severe pollution problem in the city? And what of the architecture? While the architects may have been dedicated to "total design" which left no "ugly corners to offend the sensibilities" and did produce some buildings that are brilliant by any standards, their failures produced some profoundly misconceived buildings, especially in the area of public works. Most of all, how can cities today learn from the elements in Los Angeles' evolution in the thirties? It would have been thought-provoking to have had these issues at least mentioned and integrated into the text, if not probed in depth by the highly capable authors.

Aside from the lack of critical evaluation, Gebhard and Breton have produced a definitive work on Los Angeles which contributes many new ideas and overturns others. Undoubtedly, it will encourage further studies of Los Angeles and other under-explored cities. Hopefully, they will possess the same perceptivity and high standard of documentation reflected in this worthwhile book.

The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903.

Edited by Walter Van Tilburg Clark. (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1973. 3 vols. 2,381 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index. \$60.00.)

Reviewed by Ferol Egan, author whose latest book, Frémont: Explorer for a Restless Nation, is scheduled for publication in the fall of 1976.

To have a man's life span a time period of great change is

not unusual, but for a record to be kept of those passing years is another matter. Such is the bedrock that the late Walter Van Tilburg Clark mined as he worked the Mother Lode of *The Journals of Alfred Doten*.

As Clark summed up Doten's life, it came to have a meaning that bypassed the existence of one man and assumed a symbolic aspect that was the sum of *all* the seekers who dreamed of striking it rich in California's Mother Lode or Nevada's Comstock Lode. For Doten arrived at the peak of all the excitement generated by the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, tried his luck in the Southern Mother Lode, drifted back to the Santa Clara Valley for a go at farming while he recovered from a badly injured back, caught the silver fever, and then crossed the Sierra Nevada to the Great Basin.

Again, easy riches were not his to find. Instead, he followed his trade as a newspaper reporter and editor from Como to Virginia City to Gold Hill and to Austin, Nevada. But the years passed all too quickly and the dreams vanished in the warmth of too much whisky and very little hope. His last years were spent in a boarding house in Carson City, and here he died on a windy November 12, 1903. For just as he had arrived in San Francisco Bay after a windy and stormy voyage from Plymouth, Massachusetts, on October 2, 1849, Alf Doten drifted beyond this world on the same winds of chance that had carried him on his nineteenth century odyssey.

Still, throughout his life, Doten kept his daily entries in his journals as a matter of more than habit. He made sure that some record of his own life—if not that of others who followed the same dream—was put on paper and saved for another time when the dreams would be nightmares. It was almost as though he knew that his big strike, his ultimate golden fleece would be the word pictures he would leave as his legacy. And there is a certain irony that his journals would be edited during the last years of Walter Van Tilburg Clark's life—a writer who was the greatest the Great Basin had seen since the passing of Mark Twain.

But being the novelist that he was, unable to escape the drama of a life well-used, Clark elected to select the best portions of Doten's journals and fashion them into a massive epic of a man who was the essence of a generation that quested for the riches of the earth. Thus, in a very real sense, the last epic by Clark was co-authored with Doten. Together the work of both men used one man's life to tell the story of what drove the seekers who gave their

lives for a dream of one lucky strike, one glint of gold or the sheen of silver.

All three volumes of this work form the fabric for many books—both fiction and non-fiction. There will be critics who will deplore the elimination of material without any indication of what might have been removed from the journals. These same critics will wonder why Clark elected to avoid footnotes. Yet, the original journals are available at the University of Nevada for those scholars who wish to pursue every twist and turn. But in the end, the real importance of this publication is that it is an American epic of what one man saw, endured, and hoped to achieve in a nation's westward drive for glory.

John Steinbeck: The Errant Knight

By Nelson Valjean. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975. 184 pp. Index. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Martha Heasley Cox, professor of English and director of the Steinbeck Research Center at San Jose State University.

John Steinbeck (1902-1968)—paperboy, ranch hand, bench chemist at Spreckels Beet Sugar Factory, rodman with a survey party in Big Sur, oiler on a dredger near Castroville, waiter, department store clerk, fish feeder, tutor, caretaker, and construction worker on Madison Square Garden—had only one ambition. All of his life he wanted to be a writer. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962, his Stanford roommate, Carlton ("Dook") Sheffield, wrote to him: "I suppose it really was almost forty years ago that a guy moved in with me and told me, 'I want to be the best writer in the world.' I believed him and while the reputations of Shakespeare and some others are probably safe for the present, it's been a pretty good try and I've been cheering on the sidelines all the way."

Though the book-jacket blurb claims that the story of Steinbeck's life emerges from Valjean's personal recollections as an intimate friend of the writer and his family, little in the book supports that assertion. The biography is based largely on Steinbeck's letters to Sheffield and on the

memories Sheffield shared with Valjean. Augmented by the recollections of other friends of Steinbeck, the incidents and anecdotes are supplemented, too, by biographical commentary garnered from Steinbeck's fiction and other works. Of particular value are the sections from the unpublished ledger Steinbeck kept while he wrote his second and third novels, *To a God Unknown* and *Pastures of Heaven*, which he addressed and later presented to his early critic and confidant, "Dook." Both the ledger and Sheffield's correspondence from Steinbeck (forty-nine letters and fifteen postcards) are now in the Albert M. Bender Room of the Stanford University Library, but Valjean's biography contains far more information about the Steinbeck-Sheffield relationship than these materials reveal.

Steinbeck emerges as a husky youth with dark wavy hair and piercing blue eyes, a "loner" and a "maverick," who was loyal to his chosen friends. Addicted to both liquor and girls but even more to his writing, he experienced early the restlessness that he would know throughout his life. Valjean's major concern is "the flesh-and-blood Steinbeck," not the work, which sometimes gets lost in the accounts of games played, dogs owned, courses taken, grades made, credits earned, bottles drunk, girls pursued, cars driven, jobs held, and moves made. For the scholar, a more serious concern is the insufficient and erratic documentation. Valjean occasionally quotes a Steinbeck letter for which he cites neither date, place, nor recipient, and sometimes the reader wonders whether Valjean's source is a letter, a conversation with a Steinbeck acquaintance, or a personal recollection.

A newspaperman and former editor, Valjean is a native Californian who collected materials about Steinbeck for nearly forty years and says "I knew the Steinbeck Country as I now know the wrinkles in my face." For the historian, then, his nostalgic picture of California in the early 1900's has intrinsic interest: the bucolic, drowsy hamlet of Steinbeck's birthplace, Salinas, with its four-block business district; the explorations into Chinatown and forbidden California Street where The Row began; the effects of the 1906 earthquake; the children's pranks and clubs such as the pre-World War I spying society; the circuses and the Salinas Rodeo in which young John proudly rode his pony; the public and private picnics in the oak-shaded groves of Alisal Park or on Corral de Tierra ranch; the countryside filled with sugar beets and potatoes and wild mustard; the narrow-gauge Pajaro Valley Consolidated Railroad from Salinas to Spreckels; the excursions to Monterey, Pacific

Grove, and to The City, where young Steinbeck heard concert artists.

Two sections of photographs, most previously unpublished, include several of Steinbeck, some with lifelong friends and some with such celebrities as Lyndon B. Johnson and Carl Sandburg; his three wives; and the places where he lived and wrote, or wrote about.

Sheffield's title *John Steinbeck: The Errant Knight* comes from Steinbeck's early and sustained interest in the Arthurian cycle. The subtitle *An Intimate Biography of His California Years* describes accurately the book's scope. Not then "the definitive Steinbeck biography" the book jacket claims, for the period from 1940 to 1968 is treated only in the book's concluding fifteen pages, it is nevertheless welcome, particularly for its account of Steinbeck's childhood and youth. The complete biography is still to be written.

*The Mariposa Indian War, 1850-1851:
Diaries of Robert Eccleston. . .*

Edited by C. Gregory Crampton. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975. 168 pp. Fold. map. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Dillon,
Sutro Librarian, San Francisco.

Some reprints come back like strangers, others like long-lost friends. Fitting into the latter category is Greg Crampton's *Mariposa Indian War*. It was originally published in 1957 but has now been brought back into print by the University of Utah Press and in a splendid format. In fact, it looks as good as the first edition. (And not all reprints, by a long shot, can be proud of their new dress—especially during the current econo-crunch.)

The book is composed of the diary of Argonaut Robert Eccleston in California, particularly the Mother Lode (or, more strictly, the southern mines) and the Sierra Nevada. Professor Crampton has added new material to his introduction and notes, plus a fine map and a roster of the Mariposa Battalion.

Pre-James M. Hutchings Yosemite is as short on good documentation as post-Hutchings (and post-Muir)

Yosemite is long, indeed, on books and articles. This volume deserves to be shelved alongside Lafayette Bunnell's *Discovery of the Yosemite* as a primary source on Jim Savage's discovery of Yosemite Valley. Actually, it was a rediscovery, since Joe Walker more or less found the great canyon in 1833.

The Mariposa Indian War broke out between Sierra foothills miners and local Indians when the latter, in rage and frustration at the abuses of the whites, made the mistake of raiding Savage's trading posts on the Merced and Fresno rivers and on Agua Fria Creek. Savage was well-named, a hard case who could give the Indians lessons in guerrilla warfare. He understood the Indians much better than most whites, if only because he had married several Indian girls and had been adopted by the redmen. He was, in fact, almost a living legend as the White King of the Tulares.

Savage commanded a militia unit, the Mariposa Battalion, with the rank of major. Diarist Eccleston was an Agua Fria volunteer and the only chronicler of the expedition, save Dr. Bunnell. Savage himself was not a man of letters.

Of battles there were virtually none, and the march of the Mariposa Battalion amounted largely to the exploration of a large chunk of Sierran *terra incognita*, including the Fresno Trees Grove, Yosemite Valley, and the High Sierra between the Merced and San Joaquin rivers. There were a few skirmishes, and the militiamen burnt a few *rancherías* and acorn granaries, but, most of the time, they were in fatiguing pursuit of Chowchillas and Grizzly (Yosemite) Indians through very rugged country. Eccleston's record of the little-known war is an invaluable record of the early history of Yosemite and its surrounding country.

Agriculture in the Development of the Far West

Edited by James H. Shideler. (Washington, D.C.: The Agricultural History Society, 1975. 316 pp. \$7.00.)

Reviewed by Paul W. Gates, *emeritus professor of history at Cornell University, Ithaca.*

This work is the product of the fourth in a series of symposiums on the history of agriculture in the United States sponsored by the Agricultural History Society. These

conferences have covered in considerable detail eighteenth-century agriculture, early nineteenth-century agriculture, farming in the Midwest, and agriculture in the Far West. The fourth of these meetings, like its predecessors, brought together a distinguished array of historians, agricultural engineers, anthropologists, lawyers, geographers, economists, and an authority on viticulture and enology who shared their expertise, some altogether fresh and some previously well-defined. So carefully had the plans for the symposium been drawn—under the leadership of its host, Professor James H. Shideler of the University of California at Davis—that in a number of sessions, the comments of the chairmen and the discussers added brilliantly to the contents of the papers. This was notably true of the remarks of Paul S. Taylor, former chairman of the Economics Department at Berkeley and long a defender of the 160-acre limitation in reclamation farming; of Gerald Nash, historian at the University of New Mexico and author of, among other notable books, *State Government and Economic Development: A History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849-1933*; and of Earl Pomeroy, professor of history at the University of Oregon.

Particularly useful were the papers on irrigation, science and technology, stratification in a rural community, eminent domain law and western agriculture, public land disposal in California, the Forest Service stock reduction policy, West Coast wheat production and marketing problems, fiber production in the Far West, the immigrant in western agriculture, and administration of federal programs of production adjustment. The latter, by Dov M. Grunschlag of the University of California at Davis, offered suggestions for improvements to meet obvious defects in the present machinery. All the papers will bear careful reading by everyone interested in understanding how California and West Coast agriculture has come to be such a vital part of our national food chain in all its stages from producer to consumer.

To this reviewer the most fascinating part of the program was the account of four generations of a family farm enterprise in the Sacramento Valley by Richard E. Rominger of Winters, California. With his brother Rominger raises ten crops here listed in order of their importance: barley, wheat, oats, alfalfa, rice, sugar beets, milo, beans, safflower and honeydew melons. Their land was earlier devoted to dryland barley and sheep raising. After leveling the land for irrigation and leasing additional land to justify the use of heavy and expensive machines,

the Romingers were faced with problems such as the salt content of the soil, harmful effects of the use of pesticides, nitrogen contamination of rivers, and the burning of rice straw. One wishes that California farmers would do as Vermont dairy farmers did a decade ago: take into their homes summer tourists interested in relaxing while enjoying the bucolic atmosphere and watching farming operations. Rominger's treatment stands out in the otherwise academic program and suggests that practical farmers should be included in our future programs.

California Check List

Jay Williar, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Atkeson, Ray. *Colorful California*. Eugene, Or.: Beautiful West Publishing Company, 1974. 71 pp. Illustrations.

Baldwin, Carl. *The Buses Roll*. New York: W. W. Norton [1974], 109 pp. Illustrations.

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Bleything, Dennis. *Getting off on 96 and other less traveled roads*. Beaverton, Or., Touchstone Press [1974]. 79 pp. Illustrations.

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Harris, Leroy E. *The Other Side of the Freeway: . . . Settlement patterns . . . San Diego. . .* [Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1975]. 319 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Heintz, William F. *San Francisco Mayors, 1850-1880*. [Woodside: Gilbert Richards Publications, c.1975.] 120 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.

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Hermann, Ruth. *Gold and Silver Colossus, William Morris Stewart . . . Sparks, Nev.: Dave's Printing and Publishing, 1975?* 454 pp. \$11.50. Author, P.O. Box 202, San Mateo, Ca., 94401.

Howard, Donald M. *Primitives in Paradise: The Monterey Peninsula Indians*. Carmel: Antiquities Research Publications, 1975. 75 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, Ca., 93921.

James, Paul. *California Superquake, 1975-77. . . . Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press [1974]. 294 pp. Plates.*

Jenkins, Olf P. *Early Day Memories*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. 248 pp. Illustrations.

Kiefer, Christie W. *Changing Cultures, Changing Lives*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974. 260 pp. Publisher, 615 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Ca., 94111.

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- Leadabrand, Russ, et al. *Yesterday's California*. Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1975. 272 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, P.O. Box K, Miami, Fl., 33156. \$14.95.
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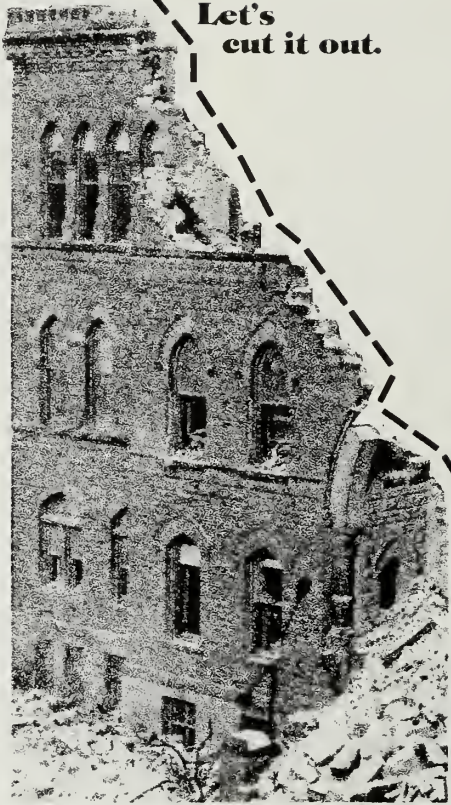
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COVER: Trifling with the sea. . . . In an instant before the earthquake and fire that left the Old San Francisco a memory of life in a special place at a special time, some school-girls caught the eye of a cameraman who saw the end of an era. We do not know his name for sure, but we are pleased to show a significant part of his work for the first time. The *Quarterly* pictorial beginning on page 121 shows "The San Francisco That Was" and something of its ambience—and adds a human note to its ordeal and resurrection.

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The Politics of California Water

Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Aqueduct, 1900-1927

Throughout the campaigns in Los Angeles that gave birth in 1913 to the Los Angeles Aqueduct, no voice was ever raised on behalf of the Owens Valley, the distant source of the prized water. As vigorous as the debate became, its terms were at all times limited to the interests of the City of Los Angeles. In 1906 the competing interests of the two communities clashed on the floor of the United States Congress, but the Owens Valley ranchers were outmaneuvered by the city water planners who successfully encouraged President Theodore Roosevelt to support the proposed project.¹ The story of the valley's destruction over the next twenty years is in part the story of the ranchers' continuing failure to find a forum in which to gain a fair hearing for their plight.

In 1907, the ranchers joined in protest once again at the meeting of the National Irrigation Congress in Sacramento. They could not have chosen a worse event for the presentation of their case, however, for the Irrigation Congress was one of several national organizations created at this time to back Roosevelt's conservationist policies described by the slogan, "Save the forests, store the floods, reclaim the deserts, make homes on the land."² In Sacramento as in Washington the year before, the hapless Owens Valley ranchers found themselves allied with the selfish interests of the private land and power companies in opposition to "hysterical conservatism."³ They were derided in the meeting and the press as "kickers" of a worthy principle, and as the *San Francisco Call* observed of the debates, "Anybody here who plays tennis at the White House can have anything he wants from these people and the kickers had no more chance than a snowball."⁴

In both instances, the ranchers were not seeking to stop the project but only to assure that their access to the Owens River streamflows would be protected. Unable to affect development of the aqueduct, however, the ranchers watched helplessly as Los Angeles gained virtually complete control over future settlement in the Owens Valley. When the Department of the Interior formally dropped its plans for a reclamation project on the Owens River immediately after Los Angeles passed the bond issue for aqueduct construction in

1907, the half-million acres of valley land withdrawn from settlement under the Homestead Act by the Reclamation Service were not returned to entry. Instead, along with all its maps and surveys, the Reclamation Service gave Los Angeles control of the storage rights which the Owens Valley ranchers had so willingly signed over to the federal government in 1903.⁵

Opportunities for settlement in the valley were further restricted in 1908, when Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forest Service, extended the borders of the Sierra National Forest Reserve over an additional 275,000 acres of valley land, despite the fact that no trees grew on this land. Henceforth, all applications from the ranchers for settlement or water storage on the federally protected lands were referred to Los Angeles, where they met certain rejection.⁶

"This is not a government by legislation; it is a government by strangulation," complained the congressman from Inyo County, Sylvester Smith.⁷ Although President Taft did repeal Pinchot's order establishing a forest preserve in the treeless valley in February, 1911, the ranchers had determined by this time that they would have to bargain for their future with Los Angeles. In 1910, they had opened negotiations with the city officials for an equitable division of water within the valley.

The prospects for an accommodation between Los Angeles and the Owens Valley were better in 1910 than they would ever be again. Even though the aqueduct had been under construction for three years by this time, Los Angeles had still not developed a policy for disposing of the great surplus of water which the aqueduct would provide. From September 20 to October 7, the city council held public hearings twice a week on the question of what should be done with the excess water after the city's immediate needs had been met. Although there was general agreement that the city should not alienate its existing rights to the Owens River water without a two-thirds vote of approval by the electorate, opinions divided as to whether the city should sell the surplus water for the highest possible return or use the surplus as the instrument of a broader policy for the annexation and consolidation of outlying areas.

Mayor George Alexander, who favored the expansion of the city to include the entire county of Los Angeles, formed a

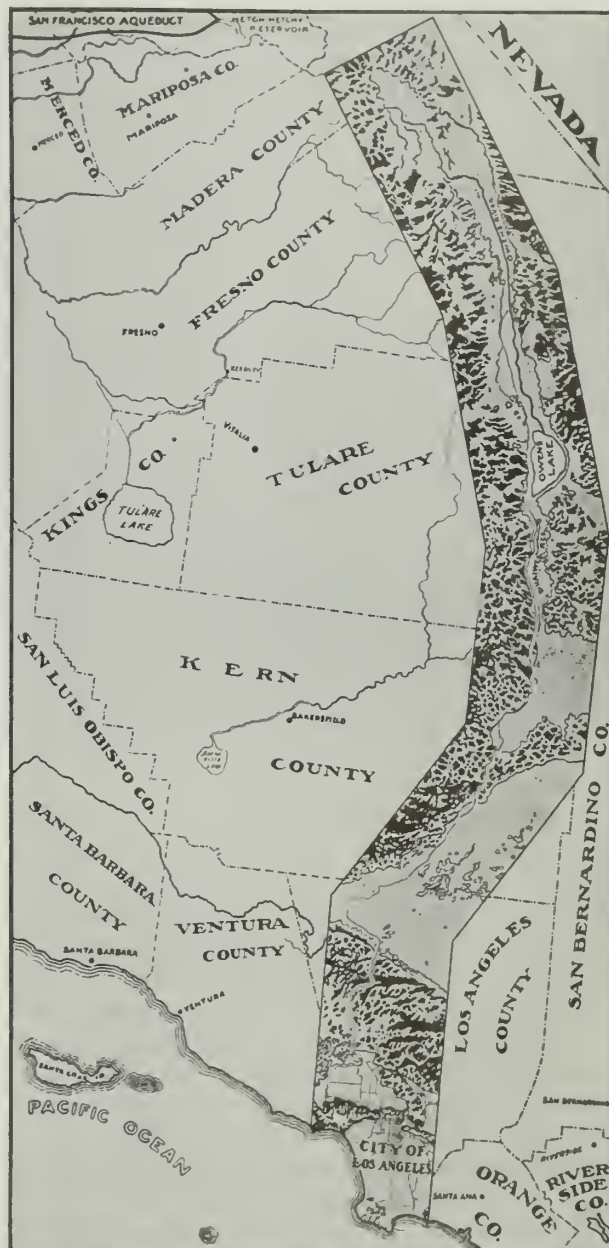
Since publication of the first part of this article in the spring issue, Mr. Kahrl has been appointed Director of Research in Governor Brown's Office of Planning and Research.

II. The Politics of Exploitation

special commission in November to study both the disposition of the surplus and the problem of consolidation. Early in 1911, the Public Service Commission, which had charge of the city's water program, established its own panel of consulting engineers to estimate the amount of the surplus and to formulate a program for its disposal.⁸ In their report released a few months later, the engineers advised that the opening of the aqueduct would provide the city with four times as much water as it could consume, leaving an excess of at least 360 second-feet, enough to irrigate approximately 135,000 acres of land each year.⁹ Although this was an amount sufficient to service the needs of the Owens Valley twice over, such an application of the surplus was never seriously entertained by the panel. Instead, their report—named for its principal signators the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report—recommended a general policy for city expansion. Under this policy, any area outside the city limits that desired to share in the surplus would have to agree to be annexed to the city as a condition of receipt of the water. Water would not be supplied to those areas where there was not a “reasonable assurance” of ultimate annexation. In addition, any area receiving water from the aqueduct would be required to pay in advance the cost of constructing a distribution system according to city specifications and to assume as well a proportionate share of the tax burden for the costs of the aqueduct.

The appearance of the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report stirred immediate controversy, not for the general policies it advocated, but for a specific recommendation within the report that the San Fernando Valley receive first consideration in the allocation of surplus waters. The engineers proposed that fully three-fourths of the surplus be devoted to irrigation in the San Fernando Valley and observed that since the valley drained into the Los Angeles River, the city would ultimately regain a portion of the water assigned to the valley for reuse.¹⁰

Ever since the first aqueduct bond election in 1905, the aqueduct and the San Fernando Valley had been linked by charges of municipal corruption involving a syndicate of speculators in San Fernando properties which had been actively preparing for the advent of aqueduct water. Formed in 1904 as the San Fernando Mission Land Company to purchase 16,000 acres in the northern part of the valley for \$524,000, the syndicate included most prominently among



Owens River watershed and route of the controversial Los Angeles Aqueduct.

its ten original members: Henry Huntington, by 1911 the largest individual landowner in Southern California; E. H. Harriman, owner of the Southern, Central, and Union Pacific railroads, among others; and Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*. These ten were joined by Moses Sherman, a local street-railway magnate and member of the city water board, and Harry Chandler, Otis' son-in-law and heir apparent at the *Times*. Chandler brought with him an additional 2300 acres purchased for \$200,000, which made the company's holdings predominant in the upper valley.¹¹

In 1909, with Harriman dead and Huntington entering semi-retirement, Otis, Chandler, and Sherman extended their interests into the southern portion of the valley. In September, they acquired an option on 47,500 acres held by the Los Angeles Farm and Milling Company at a total purchase price of \$2.5 million. For this enterprise, the three members of the northern syndicate formed the Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company in partnership with Otto Brant, vice-president and general manager of the Title Insurance and Trust Company, and H. J. Whitley, a local builder and leader in the effort to consolidate Hollywood, who served as general manager of the company. The company exercised its option in 1910 and on March 14, 1911, filed a subdivision map for Tract 1000, the largest single development undertaken in Los Angeles history until that time.¹²

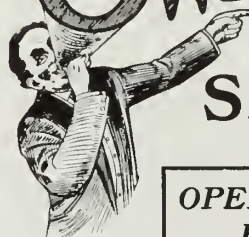
As the increasing prices which the syndicate companies had to pay for their acquisitions indicate, land values were escalating rapidly in the semi-arid San Fernando region. Even though the aqueduct would not be completed for another two years, the Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company and its subsidiaries had already embarked upon a brisk and raucous landsales program by the time the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report appeared.¹³ In the context of these events, the water engineers' recommendation that the San Fernando Valley should receive more than twice as much water from the aqueduct as Los Angeles gave sudden new credence to the charge that the project had been intended to benefit the syndicate rather than the city from the very beginning.

In the hard-fought mayoralty election that fall, such charges figured prominently as an issue which very nearly swept the Socialist party into office.¹⁴ Once the regular Republican organization had turned back the Socialist challenge, however, William Mulholland called for a thorough investi-

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gation of his project, either by a committee of the city council or by a panel of citizens. The chamber of commerce at first declined to participate, and the council, acting on a recommendation from Mayor Alexander, appointed a five-member investigating committee that included two Socialists, a number deemed proportionate to the number of votes cast for the Socialist candidate in the last election. Almost immediately, the council reconsidered this egalitarian gesture, removed the two Socialists, and attempted to force the resignation of a third, leftward-leaning appointee. The Socialists responded with an initiative ordinance, passed May 29, 1912, which established a new committee funded separately from the council's control. This panel included two Socialists as well as the apostate council appointee, plus two members approved by the council and the chamber of commerce.

By mid-July, the two original council appointees had resigned, declaring that they "could not retain their self-respect and remain of the body." To their minority report, which

Eager to cash-in on the nearly-completed aqueduct, land speculators promoted "Owensmouth," now Canoga Park, in 1912. Soon thereafter they hastily erected the first tract office in Van Nuys, another San Fernando Valley development.



dealt largely with technical questions concerning the physical construction of the aqueduct, they added the conclusion that "there is not a single thing the matter with that aqueduct except the knockers who are attempting to bring discredit upon a magnificent undertaking and upon men who wrought even better than they know."¹⁵

The three remaining investigators published their report at the end of August, a voluminous, free-swinging attack upon the aqueduct in every aspect of its conception and construction. The radicals displayed a catholic enthusiasm for charges of every kind, and in their report, relatively trivial complaints—about the quality of food served to the aqueduct construction crews, the consistency of the cement used, and the danger of pollution caused by cows falling into the open canals—jostled for attention with more serious charges involving Mulholland's alleged failure to develop the Los Angeles watershed fully before seeking an alternate water source. Although the report fastened upon the peculiarities of

Mulholland's contract with Fred Eaton for the purchase of Long Valley and called for the indictment of both men if Eaton did not return his cattle and deed to the city the remainder of the Long Valley property, the report concluded on the most critical question: "No direct evidence of graft had been developed."¹⁶

The confusing outcome of the investigation satisfied none of the participants in the controversy. Although no action was taken on the charges contained in the majority report, neither the minority report's conclusions nor the radicals' exoneration of Mulholland and his staff succeeded in silencing the debate over syndicate corruption. Immediately after the release of the majority report in September, a member of Mayor Alexander's special committee on consolidation and the water surplus, S.C. Graham, offered an alternative to the policies advocated by Quinton, Code, and Hamlin. Rather than applying the surplus in a way that would directly benefit syndicate speculation in the San Fernando Valley, Graham

proposed that the city simply sell the surplus for the highest rates it could get and turn a profit on the aqueduct as quickly as possible.

The city council approved the Graham Plan two weeks later for submission on the November ballot as a referendum. With the support of Mayor Alexander's Progressives, the issue was approved by the electorate two to one.

In contrast to the Quinton-Code-Hamlin proposal, which would have required recipients of the surplus water to build their own distribution systems, implementation of the Graham Plan depended upon the approval of \$8.4 million in municipal bonds to build conduits to the outlying regions that could afford the city's rates.¹⁷ On January 8, 1913, the council approved the submission of the bond issues in a special election called for February 25. Mulholland at this point declared his opposition to the Graham Plan and began to campaign publicly against passage of the bonds. This was a bold move for a public employee, because Mulholland was taking a stand against the policies of the Alexander administration and his employers on the Public Service Commission. Graham was himself a member of the commission, and the board had already rejected Mulholland's request that the Quinton-Code-Hamlin proposal be placed on the same ballot with the Graham bonds. By taking a role in the campaign, Mulholland adopted the Quinton-Code-Hamlin policies as his own and thereby opened himself to the charge that he was working to advance the interests of the San Fernando syndicate.

Graham, joined by the president of the Public Service Commission, F. G. Henderson, led the fight for the bonds, arguing that implementation of the plan offered the best means of defusing the charges of a syndicate plot behind the aqueduct. Moreover, the Graham plan for turning a quick profit by devoting the surplus to its highest economic use sounded like good business practice, a point which appealed to both Alexander's Progressive supporters and the regular wing of the Republican party.¹⁸

Mulholland advocated a broader vision for the municipal enterprise he had begun with the construction of the aqueduct and argued that the surplus should go to support the sustained growth and expansion of the city. Annexation, which would require the granting of long-term rights for the use of the municipal water supply, was antithetical to the Graham Plan. Therefore, Mulholland charged, the implementation of the

Graham Plan would both destroy the possibility for a consistent policy of municipal growth and work a "base deception" upon the recipients of the surplus.¹⁹

The genius of the Graham Plan lay in "an automatic process" by which any person who contracted to receive surplus water could be subsequently priced out of the water market "whenever the public service desired to receive the water." By forcing such "voluntary" withdrawals of service, Graham argued that the city could recover its water at any time "without controversy and without the payment of damages for improvements."²⁰ Mulholland opposed the cruelties involved in such a policy, contending that "water once put on the land should never be removed."²¹

As the campaign became more heated, the city council repeatedly delayed the date of the election. But when the votes were finally counted on April 15, 1913, Mulholland's gamble paid off, and the bonds on which the Graham Plan depended were turned down. In the mayoralty election two months later, the Progressives collapsed in disarray, and the new mayor, Henry Rose, who had argued against Mulholland's annexation proposals during the campaign, switched his position soon after taking office July 1. On August 29, 1913, the Public Service Commission formally adopted the policies of the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report, thereby opening the way to a decade of massive annexations to the City of Los Angeles.

Throughout this extended struggle over city policy for the disposal of the surplus, Mulholland's negotiations with the Owens Valley ranchers continued. In May, 1913, a tentative agreement was reached which would have allowed the ranchers to draw enough water to continue operation of their existing irrigation systems.²² But the conditions favoring a peaceful settlement that existed in 1910 had changed drastically by this time. The Graham bonds had been defeated, and the subsequent adoption of the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report in the months following this tentative agreement meant that the needs of the San Fernando Valley would henceforth take precedence over those of the Owens Valley. Consequently, when one of the Socialist members of the aqueduct investigating committee filed suit to enjoin the city from formalizing its agreement with the ranchers on the grounds that the city would thereby be forfeiting a portion of its rights to the Owens Valley water, Mulholland did not bother to



Aqueduct water entered the San Fernando Valley from the north and continued into the Los Angeles basin.

contest it. The agreement collapsed, and further negotiations were suspended while Mulholland began the lengthy process of obtaining exact measurements of the actual diversions the ranchers would require.

Thus, the opening of the aqueduct on November 5, 1913, effectively sealed the fate of the Owens Valley as it marked the start of Mulholland's negotiations with the San Fernando interests over the delivery of the surplus. Despite acrimonious resistance from the new towns of the San Fernando Valley, Mulholland insisted upon annexation as a condition for their receipt of the water. In support of his case, he cited not only city policy as adopted from the Quinton-Code-Hamlin Report but also the terms of the original federal grant of a right-of-way for the aqueduct, which specified that the surplus water from the project could be used for irrigation only within the boundaries of the city.²³ Mulholland's use of the federal statute to force the communities of the San Fernando

Valley to join Los Angeles is ironic in view of the fact that these provisions of the act had been inserted at President Roosevelt's request for the express purpose of assuring that the aqueduct would not be used for the benefit of the San Fernando syndicate.²⁴ In exchange for the surrender of independence, however, the San Fernando Valley received favorable consideration in the setting of rates for the aqueduct water with the result that the valley paid substantially less for its water than any other area annexed by the city in this period.²⁵

With the annexation of the first major sections of San Fernando and Palms in May, 1915, Los Angeles more than doubled in size from 108 to 285 square miles. Subsequent additions in 1916 and 1917 brought the city's total land area to more than 350 square miles, a rate of expansion supported entirely by the introduction of the aqueduct water.²⁶

By 1920, when the city had expanded to 364 square miles,



Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, and Ellen Beach Yaw, a soprano, presided at ceremonies on November 5, 1913, which marked the completion of the aqueduct into the San Fernando Valley. Eager sightseers lined the canal waiting for a first glimpse of the water from the Owens Valley.



Mulholland had reason to worry that the pace of annexation had already over-reached the project's capacity of supply. With regard to supplying water for domestic use, the problem was more potential than real. The annexed areas were largely uninhabited, and the 266 square miles added to the city between 1915 and 1920 increased the city's population by only 12,701. But, with the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, Los Angeles had already begun to emerge as the premier port and commercial center on the West Coast, and the end of World War I brought a flood of new immigrants to the city at the rate of 100,000 per year.²⁷

With regard to water for irrigation, on the other hand, the problem was already acute and centered almost entirely on the changes in agricultural production that had occurred in the San Fernando Valley since the introduction of aqueduct water. The city water engineers had originally prepared their plans for supplying water to the San Fernando Valley on the assumption that the valley's agricultural economy would continue to be based upon tree crops, which required only intermittent irrigation over a long season. When the first aqueduct water was delivered at the end of May, 1915, the valley had only 10,000 acres under irrigation, a total which increased to 18,000 acres in the next year. In 1917 and 1918, however, wartime demand brought a rapid expansion in agricultural production, and the irrigated area in the valley extended to cover 45,000 and then 75,000 acres. In addition, the crops changed; instead of trees, large sections of the valley were given over to the more water-intensive production of beans, potatoes, and truck garden crops. As a result, during periods of peak irrigation demand, Los Angeles had to supply the valley with a third again as much water as the entire surplus from the aqueduct, an amount which exceeded at times the total mean flow of the Owens River.²⁸

Mulholland's problems of supply were further complicated by the fact that in his original design of the aqueduct, he had failed to include sufficient reservoir capacity to store the winter flows from the High Sierra. Hence, in 1921, he proposed a \$3 million bond issue for the improvement of the San Fernando irrigation system and the expansion of reservoirs at the lower end of the aqueduct. Intense opposition from the labor-oriented *Los Angeles Record*, which campaigned against the bonds on the issue of syndicate corruption, handed Mulholland his first defeat in a water bond election.

As a result of this setback, Mulholland was forced to turn back to the Owens Valley, where the city, under the terms of its original agreement with Fred Eaton, already possessed the right to construct a small reservoir at the headwaters of the Owens River. The calculation of the Owens Valley's needs for irrigation water, begun in 1913, was rapidly finalized in a form satisfactory to the ranchers, and the city once again offered to guarantee sufficient water, based on these calculations, to continue agricultural production in the valley at its existing level. Such a promise was essential because the construction of a dam on Eaton's property at Long Valley would have interfered with the right of all the downstream owners, including those in the Owens Valley, to the full use of the river flow. Such rights at this time were held inviolate by the California courts, and so, to avoid litigation, Los Angeles had to secure unanimous approval of its proposal from all the downstream owners.²⁹

The possibility for such a uniform agreement, however, had been foreclosed by the events succeeding the collapse of Mulholland's friendship with Eaton several years earlier. Eaton's original agreement with the city allowed an easement sufficient for the construction of a 100-foot dam in Long Valley. While the aqueduct was still under construction, Eaton had offered to sell Los Angeles the remainder of his holdings at a price in excess of \$1 million. Because the city had already paid the entire purchase price of Eaton's ranch for control of the water rights and only 20 per cent of the land, Mulholland considered this second proposal excessive, and he rebuffed his old friend declaring, "I'll buy Long Valley three years after Fred Eaton is dead."³⁰

An arrangement whereby Mulholland would secure control of Long Valley only over his dead body was perfectly acceptable to Fred Eaton as well. Embittered, at dagger's point with the city, and a pariah in the valley he had betrayed, Eaton withdrew to his cattle ranch, refusing even to attend the dedication ceremonies for the aqueduct he had fathered. Instead, Eaton returned to his former dreams of private development of the Owens River and opened negotiations with a number of private power companies for the construction of a generating station below the Long Valley dam site. Although Eaton failed to profit from the deal, the Southern Sierra Power Company did succeed in obtaining a privately held site located at the point of the greatest power

drop in the middle of the Owens Gorge. This acquisition blocked the completion of a power generating plant which Los Angeles had itself begun in the gorge in 1915.

Late in 1921, the city gained the support of the Bureau of Reclamation for a joint project at Haiwee reservoir which would have enabled the city to develop its power project without going through the gorge by tunneling instead through the Mono Craters. But, this project demanded the diversion of two creeks behind a 150-foot dam at Long Valley while Eaton's original agreement with the city allowed for the construction of only a 100-foot dam.

The city thus found itself trapped in a multiple stalemate. The city could not proceed with its own public power development project without either gaining possession of the key site in the gorge owned by the Southern Sierra Power Company or making an arrangement with Eaton for a 150-foot dam at Long Valley. The development of a private power project by the Southern Sierra Power Company, on the other hand, could not proceed unless the city constructed a dam at Long Valley to assure an adequate water flow. The development of a dam and reservoir at Long Valley, in turn, depended upon a resolution of the water rights problem. And, the competing water needs of the city, the ranchers, and the private power developers could not be met unless the city paid Fred Eaton's price, which Mulholland would not do.

Mulholland chose instead to begin construction on a 100-foot dam while at the same time instituting proceedings to condemn the water rights of the power company and to obtain a right-of-way across its property. A party of Owens Valley ranchers, later joined by Eaton, immediately filed suit to stop the small dam, which they feared would be insufficient to supply the water the city had promised them. When the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in 1922 turned down the city's action against the power company, Mulholland dropped the project altogether.³¹

With the failure of the Long Valley project and the advent of a prolonged period of drought beginning in the winter of 1921-22, Mulholland embarked upon a three-part program for the preservation of the city's continued growth and prosperity. For the long term, he looked toward the development of another new source of water on the Colorado River, where federal engineers were preparing preliminary surveys for a dam in Boulder Canyon. For the short term, he

began to advocate a slowdown in the city's annexation policies; the annual report of the Public Service Commission in 1922, for example, for the first time warned against further expansion of the city limits, recommending instead that future annexations be confined to those territories which would "tend to make the city's outline more symmetrical."³² These two policies complemented one another, for each area which was denied access to the aqueduct water by reason of Mulholland's new policy of symmetry became a ready candidate for enlistment in the Metropolitan Water District that Mulholland was forming to underwrite the costs of a connection to the Boulder Canyon project.

Meanwhile, in the Owens Valley, Mulholland moved to assure Los Angeles' total control of the valley water supply. The city initiated a new series of land acquisitions, focusing upon the key properties which controlled points of access to the river so that the less favorably situated ranchers inland could be cut off from their water supply. Further, the Reclamation Service was hired to return to the valley to make soundings for the drilling of pump wells in the Independence area.³³ When the ranchers discovered that their underground water supply was being drained off by pumps on adjacent properties owned by the city, they appealed first to the County Board of Supervisors and then to the courts. In each case where suit was brought, an injunction was issued which the city invariably vacated by the simple expedient of buying off the affected property.³⁴ Individual ranchers along the river who resisted the blandishments of the city agents and built their own irrigation ditches and storage dams had their ditches cut and dams blown up by city work crews.³⁵

Residents of the Owens Valley recall that the Owens Valley was "still a beautiful agricultural area" as late as August, 1918.³⁶ But as Los Angeles grew and flourished in the early 1920's, hard times descended on the valley. Los Angeles' control over future settlement badly undermined the valley's credit. Local banks became over-extended, while the national and state banks that might have provided farm relief withdrew from the area altogether. Even the State Veterans Welfare Commission refused loans to qualified veterans who wished to locate in the valley.³⁷

Some valley residents continued to dream of a brighter future. Between 1922 and 1925, for example, the Town of Bishop constructed a new high school, American Legion



In a gathering never to be repeated after the decade-long hostilities had erupted, Fred Eaton (second from left), W. W. Watterson, president of the Inyo County Bank (fifth from left), and Governor Gillette (standing in front) enjoyed a hunting expedition near Bishop in 1910.

Prior to completion of the aqueduct a diversion weir was constructed on the Owens River at the foot of the Sierra.





Horse teams plowed the semi-arid San Fernando Valley in the 1880's for dry-farming crops such as wheat. With the introduction of abundant water, the valley's economy was transformed, and by the mid-1920's fruit trees and specialty crops covered the valley floor, as evidenced in this panorama of the Chatsworth area.



Hall, and Masonic Temple, while a farmers' cooperative in Laws built a large new crop warehouse. A locally written history published in 1922 concluded on a hopeful note as it observed of the city officials: "We shall gladly list with them the professions of amity, whenever by meeting the just and reasonable demands of Owens Valley, the city shall show that any consideration it may extend arises from the sense of equity, and not merely as an incident in securing some further concession."³⁸

With its people thus divided between hope and despair, the Owens Valley was ill-equipped to meet Mulholland's new policy of militancy in the early 1920's. The valley ranchers lacked the financial resources and singleness of purpose that the city officials could marshal. Leadership of the valley's resistance to the city's onslaught fell to the brothers Wilfred and Mark Watterson, whose string of local banks united the principal farming communities of the Owens Valley.³⁹

Under the leadership of the Wattersons, the ranchers served by the four major irrigation canals of the upper valley voted on December 26, 1922, to form a consolidated irrigation district through which to deal with Los Angeles in united strength. Before the plan could be confirmed, the city struck back by buying out the owner of the oldest and largest upstream irrigation canal and by bringing suit to block the sale of bonds by the Wattersons' district. As Los Angeles pressed ahead with its purchases in the upper valley, the ranchers responded by increasing their diversions downstream. While armed guards kept watch over the ranchers' diversion canals, the city found itself confronted with steadily escalating demands for the cost of the properties it wished to buy.

In March, 1924, the residents of Bishop banded together to demand a total of \$8 million for their collective holdings, land and water combined, plus \$750,000 in "reparations" to the local merchants for the trade they would lose from the block sale of their community. The Bishop organization made its offer not to Mulholland but to a delegation from the San Fernando Valley where Mulholland had been restricting the use of aqueduct water needed for the summer season's crops. To make matters worse for Mulholland, the Hearst press on April 21 returned to the story it had once discarded and began a twelve-part series in the *San Francisco Call* which detailed the plight of the Owens Valley at the hands of Los Angeles.⁴⁰

Mulholland returned from negotiations in Washington over the Boulder Canyon project to deal severely with this multifold challenge to his authority. He blocked the proposed deal between the residents of Bishop and the San Fernando Valley and continued in effect his prohibition on the use of aqueduct water for irrigation in the San Fernando Valley. He publicly declared his adamant opposition to the payment of reparations. And, on May 10, he filed suit to prevent the ranchers from continuing their diversions of Owens River water.

Mulholland's aggressively strong stand helped to bring forward the more violent elements within the Owens Valley communities. The anger of the local ranchers had proven a ripe field of opportunity for the Klu Klux Klan, then resurgent across the nation and organizing on a wide range of populist and agrarian issues. As relations with Los Angeles steadily worsened through the summer months of 1923 and spring of 1924, midnight visitations by large bands of armed men upon the homes of those who opposed the Wattersons' irrigation district became more frequent.⁴¹ Finally, in the early morning hours of May 21, 1924, two weeks after the announcement of Mulholland's suit, a band of forty men planted three boxes of dynamite along the aqueduct and blew a hole in the city's concrete ditch.

The effect of this attack was electric. Hearst's series in the *Call* had helped to awaken the general public to what was happening in the Owens Valley; the first explosion on the aqueduct now brought a flood of reporters from all over the state to study the situation. In Los Angeles, although the *Times* did recall Hearst's infamous association with the war with Spain as it blamed the *Call* series for inciting the violence, Mulholland found support for his policies eroding. On June 24, the *Los Angeles Record*, long hostile to Mulholland and the aqueduct, began a series of editorials demanding the immediate construction of the Long Valley dam, fair settlements with the Owens Valley ranchers, and Mulholland's resignation.⁴² In July, Los Angeles Mayor George E. Cryer returned from a personal tour of the Owens Valley recommending that the city buy up the entire valley either through direct negotiations or arbitration.

Mulholland and the Public Service Commission determined to buck the mayor while still giving the appearance of attempted accommodation with the valley ranchers. Not only

*"He who lets himself in for politics,
that is, for power and force as means,
contracts with diabolical powers,
and for his action it is not true that
good can follow only from good
and evil only from evil,
but that often the opposite is true."*

Max Weber

did they reject the mayor's suggestion for arbitration, a proposal which the ranchers supported, but they also suspended all negotiations for land purchases in the valley. Instead, the commission on October 14 abruptly reversed its prior policies and offered an irrigation plan designed to keep 30,000 acres of the valley green. This proposal, based on a report by J. B. Lippincott, also offered the city's assistance in constructing a highway to the valley "to make the scenic region accessible to tourist travel which should be profitable to the valley and its citizens."⁴³

This offer of an apparent compromise was totally unacceptable to the valley ranchers. Given its authorship by Lippincott, the valley's first betrayer, the proposal was suspect from the outset. The ranchers had heard such promises from the city before in 1913 and 1921, and this one came too late. Acceptance of the proposal would have meant the denial of reparations and the destruction of the Wattersons' irrigation district. The Wattersons' strategy, on the other hand, recognized that the city and the valley were competitors for the Owens River water in a contest the valley could not win. The strategy assumed that the valley would have to sell out and was geared, in consequence, at obtaining the best price possible. The ranchers were no longer fighting for their homes, only for money.

On November 16, 1924, one month after Los Angeles made its new offer, the ranchers seized the Alabama Gates which controlled the main flow of water into the aqueduct. In open rebellion, they shut the gates and sent the water spilling back into the river bed. For four days the ranchers

held the gates, supported by the cheers of hundreds of valley residents. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, pressures mounted upon Mulholland to reach an amicable settlement. On November 18, the *Los Angeles Times* deserted him, noting editorially that the ranchers were not anarchists but honest citizens of the hardy stock of pioneers who made California great: "They have put themselves hopelessly in the wrong by taking the law into their own hands, but that is not to say that there has not been a measure of justice on their side of the argument." The *Times* concluded by calling upon the Public Service Commission to pay for the suffering its policies had caused: "It is not a time to drive the hardest possible bargain. The city can afford to be liberal in its settlement with these pioneers whose work of half a century it will undo."

On November 20 the siege at the Alabama Gates ended when the Los Angeles bankers, through their Joint Clearing House Association, offered to intercede with the city to achieve a settlement. The Wattersons, speaking for the valley, proposed compulsory arbitration or a cash settlement including reparations.⁴⁴ The Public Service Commission refused to consider either course. On January 19, 1925, the commission rescinded its offer to keep 30,000 acres of the valley green and ordered a renewal of its purchasing program.

Despite the failure of the bankers' efforts at mediation, the so-called California Civil War of 1924 did help to focus public attention on the valley's plight. The valley ranchers no longer had to deal exclusively with Los Angeles but could instead carry their complaint to the larger forum of public opinion in an effort to obtain crucial relief from the state government. After the seizure of the Alabama Gates, Governor Friend W. Richardson dispatched the state engineer, Wilbur F. McClure, to study the situation. McClure's report, submitted January 9, 1925, took the ranchers' side in the dispute over reparations. In May, the legislature followed through with the adoption of a bill specifically allowing the payment of reparations, thereby undercutting Mulholland's claim that he had no legal right to compensate valley merchants for their losses.⁴⁵

The pressure of population growth in Los Angeles had worked to end any prospect of the valley's long-term survival, but, once the ranchers accepted this conclusion, these same pressures turned to their advantage and forced Mulholland toward acceptance of their terms of sale. By 1925, the

William Mulholland, self-educated engineer and driving force behind the aqueduct and public water in the West.



oil boom in Long Beach and the growth of the motion picture industry combined to make it all the more imperative that the city settle quickly to remove any further threats to its embattled water supply. In May, 1925, the Public Service Commission offered to buy all lands tributary to the Owens River. The first to take the city up on this offer was Wilfred Watterson, an action which caused his allies in the valley to question why they should continue to hold out while he had not. Watterson explained that the money was needed to continue to fuel the resistance movement in the valley, and he thereby retained his leadership position. The city's attempts to obtain further purchases, however, quickly ran aground, and by the summer of 1925, the dynamiting of the aqueduct was renewed. The pressure on the city increased throughout 1926 as valley resistance hardened. Prices demanded of the city steadily increased, while the merchants busily filed their reparations claims under the new law.⁴⁶ All of this activity proceeded to the intermittent punctuation of explosions along the aqueduct.

With the arrival of 1927, events began to converge which again worked to the valley's advantage. In Washington, D.C., Mulholland's drive to tap the waters of the Colorado River was coming to a vote. Arrayed against him were the state's private water and power interests allied with the most ardent editorial defenders of the free enterprise system in a battle which proved to be the forerunner for the conflict over development of the Central Valley that dominated the 1930's. Meanwhile, in Sacramento, the presentation of a new state water plan and a series of court decisions unfavorable to orderly water development forced the issue of water to the fore. In the midst of both disputes stood the Owens Valley, a model of the dangers of Mulholland's policy and an example of the need for overhauling the state's outmoded water laws.

In March, the legislature began a series of public hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment which would require the owner of property adjacent to an existing stream-flow to make reasonable use of his water.⁴⁷ The Wattersons, now at the head of a unified resistance group titled the Owens Valley Property Owners Protective Association, seized upon the occasion of these legislative hearings to present the valley's case directly to the people. On March 20 and again on March 22, the association bought full-page advertisements in each of California's major newspapers in which they detailed

the plight of the Owens Valley, "a name writ in water . . . its characters salt with tears and stained in blood." This passionate appeal was immediately echoed in a series of articles printed in the *Sacramento Union* from March 29 through April 3.

Although extreme examples of the purple rhetoric popular in journalistic prose of the period, the association advertisements together with the *Union* articles marked a sophisticated departure from the appeals of old. Gone were the fatal associations with the interests of private power companies and the unpopular opposition to "hysterical conservationism" which had proved so detrimental to the valley's interest in 1906 and 1907. Instead, these articles found more common strains with which to sound the heart strings of their readers. They described an authentic American tragedy, rich with Biblical overtones, which touched one of America's fondest cultural themes: conflict between the city and the frontier, the strong, sophisticated society against the weaker primitive, the machine run rampant amidst the primeval garden.

In the advertisements in the *Sacramento Union*, the Owens Valley became a democratic Eden threatened by the aqueduct, "an evil serpent, bringing ruin as no other serpent did to the earliest valley in human history." The advertisement further described how "the sturdy winners of the wilderness, whose fibre made America great, . . . pushed back the disputing sands and reared the homes of their families, the halls of their democracy, and the altars and thanes of their God—until happy, lovely Owens Valley was a fairyland of beauty surrounded by peaks and desert and dotted with monuments to human industry."

Through this frontier paradise the *Union* stories followed "the trail of the wreckers," presenting "a record of political ownership run rabid, the record of a great city which raised itself above the law." Here the *Union* watched the destruction of the fruit orchards by city tractors: "Shame-faced Los Angeles removing the traces of civilization in the hope that the future will not curse her." There the *Union* found an abandoned schoolhouse with flag still flying, "its blood-red stripes now twined and twisted with the halyard . . . tired of neglect . . . the last thing to yield to the decree of abandonment."

In the press, Mulholland emerges throughout as the cruellest of villains, architect of "a policy of ruthlessness, of 'sink without trace,' of brutality and sharp practice which leads crooks to jail or makes them fugitives from justice." When asked by the *Union* what justice he felt was due to the Owens Valley ranchers, Mulholland was quoted in reply, "Justice! Why there are not enough trees in the valley to give the _____ (sic) justice!"

The immediate impact of this appeal was felt even before the *Union* series had run its course. On March 25, the assembly committee on constitutional amendments held hearings on the proposed amendment which would have tended to restrict the rights of the valley ranchers as riparian owners. The committee stripped the bill of its enforcement powers, leaving a toothless statement of general policy, and passed it to the Floor without a recommendation for passage. Then, on March 31, Assemblyman Dan E. Williams of Chinese Camp announced that he would ask Governor Clement C. Young to allow the legislature to act as an arbiter in the controversy between Los Angeles and the Owens Valley. When this effort failed, Williams headed a special assembly investigating committee which set out on April 16 to visit the valley personally. As guests of the Property Owners Protective Association, the assembly delegation met with 200 ranchers in Bishop on the night of Saturday, March 17.

The following Monday, the committee convened again in Sacramento for hearings on a resolution introduced by Williams which damned Los Angeles and all its works in the Owens Valley. After seven hours of bickering, the Los Angeles officials refused to participate further in the committee hearings. Before the chief counsel for the city representatives left, he told the committee that, regardless of what

had happened in the Owens Valley, Los Angeles would enter any other part of the state, including the San Joaquin Valley, if it needed the water. He concluded with the declaration that Los Angeles had the money to do what it pleased.⁴⁸ On Friday, March 23, after a tumultuous debate highlighted by a fistfight on the floor of the assembly chamber, the Williams resolution criticizing Los Angeles passed by a vote of 43 to 34.⁴⁹

Encouraged by their success in Sacramento, the ranchers of the Owens Valley resolved to stand firm against the city. At the beginning of the year, Los Angeles set a deadline of May 1, 1927, for the acceptance of the city's offer to buy riparian lands in the valley; after that date, Los Angeles declared with dubious legality, no reparations payments would be made. The ranchers ignored the deadline. On May 27, one of the largest siphons on the aqueduct was blown up. The next night, sixty more feet of pipe were destroyed. Los Angeles assembled 600 reservists at the city police headquarters and dispatched a contingent of private detectives to the valley armed with Winchesters and tommy guns with orders to shoot to kill anyone found loitering around the aqueduct.⁵⁰ Undeterred, the ranchers blew up portions of the aqueduct again on the nights of June 4, 19, and 24. On June 10, Los Angeles sent an entire trainload of guards to the valley bearing sawed-off shotguns. No blood had been shed in the "Civil War" of 1924, but, in the super-heated atmosphere of the valley in the summer of 1927, the stage was set for a violent confrontation of major proportions.

Mulholland, however, had already prepared a killing blow by which he meant to end the conflict once and for all. In planning the destruction of the Owens Valley, he had throughout displayed a preference for attacking the valley economy rather than its residents directly. Accordingly, he turned once again to the Los Angeles business community, which had borne his project to completion, to save it now from further destruction.

Mulholland's line of attack was directed at the valley banks owned by the Watterson brothers. In October, 1926, Mulholland contacted the Bank of America to secure their assistance in establishing a branch in Bishop to compete with the Wattersons' banks. The application for a charter was made in the names of five valley residents who had already sold their holdings to the city for a combined total of



War between Los Angeles and Owens Valley settlers reached a climax in 1927 when the aqueduct was dynamited fourteen times by unidentified valley saboteurs.

\$474,000.⁵¹ Mulholland, however, had succeeded too well in undermining the economy of the Owens Valley, and the United States Comptroller of the Treasury refused to issue a charter for a national bank on the grounds that there was not sufficient business in the valley to justify another bank. Similarly, the state bank commissioner also refused the application after a hearing on March 31, 1927, at which the Owens Valley representatives warned that the new bank was a front for the city which intended to drive the Wattersons out of business and thereby secure all the mortgages outstanding in the valley.

During the process of application, however, Los Angeles officials had obtained detailed financial statements on the Wattersons' operations which suggested that some bank funds had been diverted to other Watterson enterprises. On August 2, 1927, Mulholland took this evidence to the state corporations commissioner, who dispatched a state bank investigator to the Owens Valley. Three days later, the Watterson banks closed while an audit was conducted, and on August 10, both brothers were jailed on charges of embezzlement. At their trial, the brothers did not deny the charge that they had channeled more than \$2.3 million of the ranchers' savings into their own companies, and their explanation that they had acted only to preserve valley industries in the face of the city's onslaught was ruled inadmissible. Convicted on all counts, the brothers were sentenced to concurrent terms of one to ten years in San Quentin.⁵²

For the Owens Valley, this was the cruelest in a long history

of betrayals. Scarcely a rancher or merchant in the valley did not have a mortgage from the Watterson banks. With their lifesavings lost and their property forfeit, the ranchers' resistance was broken. The long war was over. Following the Wattersons' conviction on November 12, 1927, someone posted a sign on the north side of Bishop reading, "Los Angeles City Limits."⁵³

The year 1927 marked the culmination of Mulholland's achievements on several fronts. In addition to securing the city's water supply in the Owens Valley, Mulholland succeeded, after three years of intensive lobbying in Sacramento, in obtaining the legislature's approval of a bill creating the Metropolitan Water District. With this victory, the Public Service Commission called for the formal suspension of the city's annexation program until the new water from the Colorado River became available.⁵⁴

Any joy Mulholland may have found in these events, however, was short-lived, for the failure of the Long Valley project which had accelerated the destruction of the Owens Valley had also set Mulholland on a course which proved his ultimate undoing. Desperate for the reservoir capacity that had been denied at Long Valley in 1922, Mulholland in 1924 began construction of a new dam in San Francisquito Canyon to store the water flowing into the ocean from the city's power plants upstream. The dynamite attacks upon the aqueduct that summer spurred Mulholland's rush to build a secure storage facility at the Los Angeles end of the project, far from the scene of battle in the Owens Valley.

The Olancho division of the aqueduct carried water to Los Angeles and drained life from the doomed Owens Valley settlements.



Mulholland's haste in bringing the Saint Francis Dam into service only compounded the error he had made in not including a reservoir at Long Valley in his initial design of the aqueduct. Completed in May, 1926, the Saint Francis Dam was unfortunately located upon the San Andreas Fault, and within two years it began to show signs of leakage. On March 12, 1928, Mulholland himself inspected the structure and declared it safe. That same night the dam collapsed. A 100-foot wall of water bearing huge chunks of concrete on its crest swept down the Santa Clara Valley and obliterated three towns and more than 400 lives along its path.⁵⁵ Mulholland assumed full responsibility for this greatest unnatural disaster in California history.

Mulholland's shortcomings as an engineer thus worked to undermine all the skill he had displayed in retaining his position at the head of the city's water program through more than forty years of political transition. In Washington, the future of the Swing-Johnson Bill, which would open the way to construction of Boulder Dam, was still in doubt. The plight of the Owens Valley at the hands of Los Angeles combined with the Saint Francis Dam disaster to cause the city's supporters in Congress a degree of embarrassment they could ill afford in the midst of their negotiations over the Boulder Canyon project. As the architect of both the dam and the city's policies toward the Owens Valley ranchers, Mulholland had become a liability that could no longer be sustained. "I envy the dead," he told the coroner's inquest investigating the Saint Francis Dam disaster in the summer of 1928.⁵⁶ At

the end of November, almost a year to the day after the Watterson brothers entered San Quentin and only a month before President Coolidge signed the Swing-Johnson Act, Mulholland resigned in disgrace.

With Mulholland gone, Los Angeles, beginning in February, 1929, moved swiftly to settle accounts in the Owens Valley by purchasing the remaining townships and privately held ranchlands. Throughout this last series of purchases, the city adhered strictly to Mulholland's original precepts that there be no arbitration and no payment of reparations. The city did agree to increase the 1929 market prices set by its own panel of appraisers according to a schedule of percentage adjustments which reflected the depreciation of market values since 1923. But no payments were made for estimated business losses or for the value of fixtures and equipment, and all sales were conditioned upon a release of the city from liability for any reparations claims.⁵⁷ On these terms, the city, by May, 1933, had expanded its holdings in the valley to include 95 per cent of all farmlands and 85 per cent of the town properties.⁵⁸

By agreeing to purchase at artificially inflated prices, Los Angeles wound up paying taxes to Inyo County on assessments which in some cases exceeded the actual market value of the properties involved.⁵⁹ In the years of the Depression that followed, these generous settlements proved a boon to many valley refugees, as did the opportunity for short-term employment on the aqueduct. But for those who chose to remain and work their ranches, Los Angeles' policies were

less kind. Although the city did agree to lease back the farms it had acquired at an annual rate of 6 per cent of the purchase price plus taxes, these leases were granted for no more than five years and were cancellable at any time on the city's option. Most important, the granting of a lease carried with it no promise of a continued water supply. Los Angeles promptly made the perils attendant to such an agreement abundantly clear to the ranchers in 1930 when the city abruptly cancelled nearly all of its leases and diverted the entire flow of the Owens River to the San Fernando Valley during the peak of the irrigation season.⁶⁰

Fred Eaton, meanwhile, did not escape the fate of his neighbors in the valley. His dreams of a cattle empire never came to fruition. In 1926, at a time when the Eaton Land and Cattle Company was floundering, the other officers of the firm took out a \$200,000 loan from the Watterson banks, offering Eaton's land at Long Valley as security. When the Watterson banks collapsed, the \$200,000 went with them, and the note on Eaton's land was sold to a Los Angeles bank which promptly initiated foreclosure proceedings. Together, Eaton and Mulholland had conceived the aqueduct and labored to make it a reality. In the end, they both became its victims.⁶¹

As the ranchers left and the valley's economy shifted to tourism and agricultural activities such as cattle grazing and feed-crop production which had low water needs, tranquility was restored to the Owens Valley. In 1939, the city began to lose its grip by offering to sell portions of its land while reserving to itself all water rights. Relations between the city and the valley have remained sensitive, however, and on those rare occasions when the valley residents have joined to protest some aspect of city policy, Los Angeles officials have sometimes responded with a display of gratuitous cruelty that recalls Mulholland at his worst.

In 1944, for example, the city reversed an earlier policy of giving preference to leaseholders in the sale of its properties and began instead to conduct its sales by sealed bids. When the valley leaseholders protested, Los Angeles retaliated by increasing the rents charged on all of its properties in the Owens Valley. This action was taken at a time when federally-enforced wartime rent controls were in effect across the country, and the notices of the increase, effective January 1, 1945, were mailed to arrive during Christmas week.⁶²

Similarly, in the early 1970's the valley residents obtained

a court order requiring the city to submit an environmental impact report before engaging in an increased pumping program which threatened to lower the valley's water table still further. When the city produced the required report within one month and the valley residents sought a court review of the report's adequacy, Los Angeles abruptly announced that it was cutting off all water to its agricultural and recreational lessees in the Owens Valley. On Friday, September 20, 1974, the city mailed notice of the cutoff which took place the following Monday, September 23. To shut off the water, city workers had to dynamite irrigation valves that had been rusted open since the aqueduct's completion sixty years before. In a public statement, Duane L. Georgeson, the city engineer responsible for the aqueduct, denied that the city's extreme action was a punitive measure and described it instead as "educational."⁶³

Such incidents have helped to keep alive the memory of Los Angeles' actions in the Owens Valley from one generation of valley residents to the next. This residual bitterness, together with the high drama of the events themselves, has no doubt helped to fuel the continuing controversy over the old charge that the aqueduct was built to serve the interests of Henry Huntington and his associates in the San Fernando syndicate.⁶⁴

The syndicate's interest in the aqueduct, while considerably more than coincidental, was something less than corrupting. To say that the financial leaders of Los Angeles in the early part of this century exercised great influence over the conduct of municipal affairs, and that some consequently benefited from the exercise of this influence, is simply to state a characteristic which was obvious in many aspects of the city's administration during this era. Yet, for all the profits it derived from the project, the syndicate did not pervert the aqueduct's purpose. Rather, the aqueduct amply fulfilled the synthetic need for which it was created: the city's population increased twelvefold between 1900 and 1930 while its land area multiplied by ten.

The ethic of growth and not simply the greed of a few Los Angeles financiers laid waste to the Owens Valley. For all of the deception Mulholland practiced in promoting the project, the fact of the syndicate's interest was consistently a central, but never a sufficient argument in any of the elections affecting the aqueduct to block the project and the

general prosperity it promised. Los Angeles approached the Owens Valley as an expanding enterprise seeking a resource for exploitation. The decision to sacrifice the future of the Owens Valley for the sake of development in the San Fernando Valley was made unilaterally by the city, but it involved a choice between competing public interests. All of the efforts of the Owens Valley ranchers in the 1920's came too late to reverse this policy. The ranchers' fate had been sealed at the moment President Roosevelt determined in 1906 that the greater public interest would be served by a greater Los Angeles.

In his last annual message to Congress, Roosevelt reflected upon the changes which were occurring in the nation as the result of the growth of giant corporations, national labor organizations, and the new urban metropolises: "The chief breakdown is in dealing with the new relations that arise from the mutualism, the interdependence of our time. Every new social relation begets a new type of wrong-doing—of sin, to use an old-fashioned word—and many years always elapse before society is able to turn this sin into crime which can be effectively punished."⁶⁵

In the case of the Owens Valley, the evolution of the law that Roosevelt predicted began almost immediately. When the state senate sent an investigating committee to the Owens Valley in 1931, for example, it was acting not simply to berate the city but, more importantly, to prevent the repetition of a similar conflict as Los Angeles extended the aqueduct into the Mono Basin. Aided in part by the recommendations that grew out of this investigation, the legislature that same year adopted California's "County of Origin Law" which prohibits the exploitation of rural areas like the Owens Valley by establishing a means of mediating conflicts over future water needs.⁶⁶

In addition, the example of the Owens Valley aided the resistance in the struggles that followed over the construction of new public water projects in California. In 1927, for example, the *Sacramento Union* did not forego drawing an obvious moral from its series of stories on the Owens Valley: "There is a warning to be heeded. Here is a case where political ownership of public utilities had full sway for demonstration. The city concerned reverted to ruthlessness, savage disregard for moral and economic equations, to chicanery and faith breaking. . . . The municipality became a destroyer, deliberately, unconscionably, boastfully."⁶⁷

More than any other individual, William Mulholland, through the building of the aqueduct and the formation of the Metropolitan Water District, established the principle of public ownership of water indelibly on California history. The growth of Los Angeles demonstrated the validity of the principle, just as the memory of the Owens Valley made its further advancement all the more difficult. The damage done by Mulholland to the principle he worked all his life to establish may provide the harshest judgment of his action, for, in the end, Mulholland's methods poisoned the legacy he left behind.

The photograph on page 104 (top) is courtesy the *Los Angeles Times*; on 104 (bottom), Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles; on 111, Los Angeles Department of Water and Power; on 107 (bottom), 108 (top and bottom), 114, Security Pacific National Bank, Los Angeles; on 107 (top), California Section Picture Collection, California State Library, Sacramento; and 113, Special Collections, San Francisco Public Library. The photograph on page 99 is taken from Security Trust and Savings Bank, *A Daughter of the Snows: The Story of the Great San Fernando Valley* (1923?); on page 103, from Department of Public Service, *Complete Report on Construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct* (1916); and on page 100, from W. W. Robinson, *The Story of the San Fernando Valley* (1961).

Notes

1. For more detail on Roosevelt's action, see Part I of this article in *California Historical Quarterly*, 55 (Spring, 1976): 12-15.
2. George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1958), pp. 214-216.
3. W. A. Chalfant, historian of Inyo County and a valley resident during these events, agreed with the desirability of preserving natural resources, but observed of Roosevelt's policies, "In the stages of novelty, it ran so far toward hysteria that there was danger of all being conserved for the future with little regard for necessities of the present. . . . Pinchot [head of the Forest Service], who has stated that he did what he could to help Los Angeles, was able to read into his authority the power to assist the city by preventing

settlement. He has since asserted that 'the end justifies the means.' So might the highwayman say as he blackjacks his victim into helplessness; the end itself is not justifiable." W. A. Chalfant, *The Story of Inyo* (published by the author, Second Revised Edition, 1933), pp. 363-364. (Hereinafter Chalfant, 2nd.)

4. *San Francisco Call*, September 4, 1907.
5. See Part I of this article, *California Historical Quarterly*, 55: 5-7.
6. The extension of the forest preserve apparently was one of several similar moves by which Roosevelt and Pinchot withdrew seventeen million acres of land in 1907 and 1908 before their actions in this regard could be brought under congressional review. Even so, Pinchot had to send three foresters to the Owens Valley before he found one who would sign a report recommending withdrawal of the land. Chalfant, 2nd, pp. 339-340 and 367. See also Mowry, *Era of Roosevelt*, pp. 214-216.
7. Chalfant, 2nd, p. 368. In the first edition of his history, *The Story of Inyo*, published in 1922 (hereinafter Chalfant, 1st), Chalfant commented, "The government held Owens Valley while Los Angeles skinned it." (p. 329)
8. The Board of Public Service Commissioners succeeded to the powers of the Board of Water Commissioners in March, 1911, pursuant to amendments to state statutes governing public works projects.
9. The engineers estimated that the watercrop from the aqueduct and the Los Angeles River combined would total 480 cubic feet per second or 24,000 miner's inches. One-fourth of this total would be needed to service the 45,000 acres of habitable land within the city, assuming an average daily consumption rate of one miner's inch for every 7.77 acres of developed urban land. See J. H. Quinton, W. H. Code, and Homer Hamlin, *Report Upon the Distribution of the Surplus Waters of the Los Angeles Aqueduct* (Los Angeles, 1911).
10. The engineers advised that "at least one-fourth of all the water used in San Fernando Valley will eventually return to the Los Angeles River as underflow." *Ibid.*, p. 11. Assuming that 275 second-feet were assigned to the San Fernando Valley, the engineers estimated that 80 second-feet (29 per cent) would return to Los Angeles.
11. Frank M. Keffer, *History of San Fernando Valley* (Glendale, 1934), pp. 73-74.
12. In 1911, the five principal directors of the Suburban Homes syndicate were joined by William Paul Whitsett, who purchased a half interest in the syndicate's Van Nuys townsite and proceeded with its development through the Janss Company. See W. W. Robinson, *The Story of San Fernando Valley* (Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 37-38.
13. In addition to the general profits of the company, individual members of the syndicate reaped subsidiary benefits through construction and the supply of support services to the new towns of the San Fernando Valley. Huntington's Pacific Light and Power Company doubled its earnings between 1905 and 1915 through extensions into the area. The first official act of the town of Burbank following its incorporation was to extend an exclusive contract for the supply of street and home lighting to L. C. Brand, another member of the northern syndicate. Keffer, *History of San Fernando*, p. 80. Each of the principal members of the southern syndicate selected choice tracts for themselves: Sherman took 1000 acres at the site of what is now Sherman Oaks; Otis took 550 acres which he later sold to Edgar Rice Burroughs who renamed it Tarzana; Brant secured 850 acres to form the Brant Rancho; and Chandler and Whitley received smaller tracts at Sherman Way and Van Nuys boulevards. Robinson, *Story of San Fernando*, p. 38.
14. For more details on this election, see Part I of this article, *California Historical Quarterly*, 55: 17-21.
15. *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1912. See also *Report on the Los Angeles Aqueduct After an Investigation Authorized by the City Council of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1912).
16. *Report of the Aqueduct Investigation Board to the City Council* (Los Angeles, 1912) p. 14. A description of the details of Mulholland's agreement with Eaton appears in Part 1 of this article, *California Historical Quarterly*, 55: 5.
17. Under the proposed construction plan approved by the Public Service Commission, one conduit would extend through the Santa Monica Mountains at Franklin Canyon to service the Providencia, Cahuenga, Inglewood, and Glendale areas. A second major conduit would run to Pasadena and east to San Dimas. Three smaller conduits would supply 40,000 acres in the Mission, Fernando, and Chatsworth districts of the San Fernando Valley.
18. In the public views of successful politicians of the period, industry was seen not as an adversary of government but as its partner or teacher. The principles of one were considered applicable to the other. Meyer Lissner, a prominent Progressive ideologue, for example, promised in 1909 that the incoming Alexander administration would "do public business like great private business is done." *Pacific Outlook*, 7 (December 11, 1909): 4. Similarly, in 1915, after the regular Republicans had returned to power, charter revisions were drafted on the charge, "Can the city be administered as an efficient business corporation?" Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 221.
19. *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1913.
20. *Los Angeles Record*, September 12, 1912.
21. J. B. Lippincott, "William Mulholland—Engineer, Pioneer, Raconteur," *Civil Engineering* (March, 1941): 163.
22. The agreement specifically granted the ranchers storage rights on Big Pine Creek and north of Fish Springs as well as free use of all underground waters. The city also agreed to with-

- draw its opposition to settlement on public lands and to admit the water rights of the existing ditches. Chalfant, 2nd, p. 373.
23. Keffer, *History of San Fernando*, p. 86.
 24. See Part I, of this article, *California Historical Quarterly*, 55: 14.
 25. In the other areas annexed by the city, aqueduct water was supplied for domestic use only, and any farming activity was supported by the local underground water supply. Even where combined use of the water was permitted, the area paid a domestic-irrigation rate which, while lower than the domestic rate, was nonetheless appreciably higher than the irrigation rate charged to the San Fernando Valley. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 161, notes that the San Fernando Valley was the only area developed as an integral irrigation project. The Public Service Commission noted this inequity in its annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, when it pointed out that irrigation revenues from the first full harvest year in the valley totalled only \$200,000, "an amount hardly sufficient to justify the low rate at which the water was sold." See *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Public Service Commissioners* (Los Angeles, 1918), p. 6.
 26. Following the annexation of 170 square miles in San Fernando and seven square miles in the Palms district in 1915, Los Angeles added Owensmouth in 1917, West Lankershim in 1919, Chatsworth in 1920, and Lankershim in 1923. By the time Mulholland's annexation program formally closed in 1927, the only communities still outstanding in the San Fernando Valley were the cities of San Fernando, Burbank, Glendale, Tujunga, and Universal City.
 27. Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden* (New York, 1968), p. 486.
 28. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 161-162.
 29. The water rights of the owners of riparian lands were supreme under pueblo law. In 1872, the California legislature adopted the model of the New York Civil Code permitting diversion and impoundment. As development of the state proceeded, a line was thus drawn between the interests of riparian owners and the irrigation projects which depended upon large-scale appropriations of water. In 1886, the California supreme court, in the case of *Lux vs. Haggin* (69 Cal, 255) decided the issue in favor of the riparian owners, and, in the years that followed, the court repeatedly struck down the legislature's attempts to limit the effect of its ruling. Erwin Cooper provides a useful summary of the evolution of California water law in the last chapter of his *Aqueduct Empire* (Glendale, 1968). The more serious student should consult Wells A. Hutchins, *The California Law of Water Rights* (Sacramento, 1956).
 30. Quotation attributed to Mulholland by Remi Nadeau, *Water Seekers* (Garden City, New York, 1950), p. 64.
 31. In later years, Mulholland's withdrawal from the Long Valley project came to be blamed for the violence that followed. It became the policy of the city water agency to explain Mulholland's action with the contention that the high dam (which the federal government approved) was not feasible due to the loose and porous soil in the area. See, for example, Don J. Kinsey, *The Water Trail* (Los Angeles, 1928), p. 21.
 32. *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Public Service Commissioners* (Los Angeles, 1922) p. 11. The San Fernando Valley interests, through their representative on the commission, W. P. Whitsett (himself a member of the Suburban Home syndicate), vigorously supported this policy as a way of reducing competition for the water available. *Los Angeles Record*, November 21, 1925.
 33. Chalfant, 2nd, p. 382, reports that the drilling engineers arrived even before the failure of the Long Valley project. The city ultimately sunk a total of 150 wells in the valley before the collapse of the valley's resistance in 1927. See "Report of the Senate Special Investigating Committee on Water Situation in Inyo and Mono Counties" *Journal of the Senate*, 49 Session, May 6, 1931, p. 2448.
 34. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 132.
 35. The destruction of storage dams was limited to the area of Lake Mary, Fishlake Creek, and Hot Springs Creek. In a letter to the Los Angeles Clearinghouse Association on January 6, 1925, the president of the Public Service Commission, R. F. del Valle, explained that the bombing was necessary to protect the water rights the city already possessed. See *Sacramento Union*, March 30, 1927.
 36. R. Coke Wood, "Owens Valley as I Knew It" *Pacific Historian*, 16 (Summer, 1972): 2.
 37. Chalfant, 2nd, pp. 387-388.
 38. Chalfant 1st, p. 330.
 39. The Wattersons' ownership of the Inyo County bank and extensive investments in local mining operations made the brothers the predominant figures in valley commerce. In addition to their leadership in the resistance to Los Angeles, R. Coke Wood recalls that Mark taught Sunday school at the Methodist Church in Bishop and Wilfred served as the local scoutmaster. Wood, "As I knew It," pp. 2-3.
 40. The Hearst series, which appeared under the headline, "Valley of Broken Hearts" was written by a former Owens Valley resident, C. E. Kunze, and ran from April 21 to May 3, 1924.
 41. Even before the arrival of the KKK, the Owens Valley had developed its own traditions of frontier justice. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, two vigilante organizations appeared in Bishop: the Committee of Public Safety and the "145," which was patterned after the famous "601" of Virginia City. See Chalfant, 1st, pp. 312-314.
 42. See *Los Angeles Times*, May 22 and 23, 1924 and *Los Angeles Record*, November 19, 1924. See also Marian L. Ryan, "Los Angeles Newspapers Fight the Water War," *Southern California Quarterly*, 50 (June, 1968).

43. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 122.
44. Watterson proposed three alternative means of settlement: (1) the city would sustain irrigation to 30,000 acres of the valley but also pay damaged property owners \$5.3 million in reparations; (2) the city would buy the entire Watterson irrigation district for \$12 million; or (3) the city would buy the irrigation district at a price to be set by an independent arbitration board. Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, p. 92.
45. See Chapter 109, *Statutes of 1925* (Senate Bill 757—Inman). Although the act provided for its own liberal construction, claims were recoverable under its provisions only for damages caused by the loss of the water itself and not for damages resulting directly or indirectly from the actual construction of the aqueduct.
46. Claims submitted ultimately totaled \$2,813,355.42. See Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 124, for a detailed breakdown of the reparations sought.
47. The proposed amendment had been prompted by a state supreme court decision the year before, *Herminghaus vs. the Southern California Edison Company* (200 Cal. 81) in which the court rendered its starkest reaffirmation yet of the principles of private property by granting the owner of such riparian rights full and unqualified control of all the water flowing past his land. See fn. 29, *supra*.
48. *Sacramento Union*, April 21, 1927.
49. Assembly Concurrent Resolution 34 (1927) declared that Los Angeles' policy of "ruthless destruction" constituted "a menace to the peace and welfare of the entire state" and called upon the city either to restore the Owens Valley to its former agricultural status or to give the valley residents and businessmen proper compensation for their damages. In the vote on the assembly floor, the representatives from Los Angeles were joined in opposition to the Williams resolution by the San Francisco delegation, who were having similar problems of their own with the Hetch Hetchy water development. Once passed by the assembly, the measure went to the senate committee on conservation, chaired by Senator Herbert J. Evans of Los Angeles, where it died without a hearing.
50. *Los Angeles Times*, May 29, 1927.
51. Prominent among this group was George Watterson, uncle of Wilfred and Mark and a consistent partisan within the county on the city's behalf.
52. In the Wattersons' fall the *Los Angeles Times* found a defense for the city's policies toward the valley. Upon their conviction, the *Times* editorialized, "The propaganda which for years has been directed against the city is now shown not only to have been financed by stolen money but to have been motivated by the necessity the Wattersons had of covering up their own criminal acts. . . . This poison spring is now dried up and the two communities will be the healthier for it." *Los Angeles Times*, November 12, 1927.
53. Wood, "As I Knew It," p. 5.
54. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, p. 159.
55. It is no accident that the Saint Francis Dam disaster has never achieved the prominence in California history of the San Francisco Earthquake, despite the fact that the death tolls in both incidents were roughly equivalent. In the preparation of his history, *Man-Made Disaster: The Story of the Saint Francis Dam* (Glendale, 1963), Charles F. Outland discovered that many of the most important records of the event have been destroyed or otherwise withdrawn from public inspection, with the result that it is impossible to determine exactly how many people were killed or how much compensation Los Angeles actually paid. With regard to the death count Outland advises, "Any death figure over 450 or under 400 is unrealistic." (p. 222)
56. Mulholland's acceptance of responsibility for the disaster was not entirely a noble gesture of submission. On the morning after the disaster, rumors began to circulate that the dam had been blown up by Owens Valley ranchers. These rumors proved to be without foundation, but Mulholland subscribed to them nonetheless and as late as the coroner's inquest was still trying to suggest sabotage as the cause of the dam's failure. Outland, *Man-Made Disaster*, pp. 138 and 191.
57. An investigating committee of the state senate in 1931 particularly deplored this provision of the city's contracts of sale as well as the city's refusal to consider the claims of the Town of Keeler on the shore of the Owens Lake. When the lake dried up due to the diversion of the Owens River to the aqueduct, Keeler was inundated with shifting deposits of alkali, soda, sand, and dust. The committee reported, however, that reparations were the focus of continued conflict, and the committee urged the city to compensate the valley merchants, estimating that \$500,000 would be sufficient to satisfy the claims of Bishop and all the other towns. See *Journal of the Senate*, 49 Session, fn. 33 *supra*, pp. 2450-2452.
58. The city paid a total of \$5,798,780 for the town properties: Bishop was bought for \$2,975,833; Big Pine for \$722,635; Independence for \$730,306; Laws for \$102,446; and Lone Pine for \$1,217,560. The farm properties were purchased for an additional \$1,120,087. The only major block of properties not purchased was a pool of thirty-one parcels held by a former state senator from Inyo who demanded twice the assessed value for his holdings. See Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 125-126.
59. In 1936, Los Angeles tried to reduce its assessments by forcing the residents of Bishop to disincorporate their community as a condition of the city's purchase of the remaining properties. The town rejected the proposal in a special election August 22. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 135-136.
60. The harsh treatment accorded the ranchers contrasts vividly with the support and encouragement Los Angeles extended to others who had an interest in the valley. At the same time as the ranchers were paying 6 per cent on the value of their

leases, for example, Los Angeles offered to lease 6400 acres of the valley for use as a businessman's duck hunting preserve at an annual rate of less than 1/2 of 1 per cent of the property's worth. (Chalfant, 2nd, p. 402.) Whereas ranchers were denied assurance of a continued water supply, Los Angeles in 1935 returned 1511 acres to the valley's original residents, the Paiute Indians, with a guarantee of at least 6046 acre-feet of water each year. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 138-139.

61. After a quarter century of silence, Eaton and Mulholland were ultimately reconciled at Eaton's deathbed in 1934. When Fred Eaton died, Mulholland told his daughter, "For three nights in succession I dreamed of Fred. The two of us were walking along—young and virile like we used to be. Yet I knew we both were dead." Mulholland died the next year. The quotation is attributed to Mulholland by Nadeau, *Water Seekers*, p. 131, apparently from the reminiscences of his daughter, Miss Rose Mulholland.
62. Ostrom, *Water and Politics*, pp. 136-137.
63. *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1974.
64. Until the appearance of Remi Nadeau's *Water Seekers* in 1950, the formal histories of the Owens Valley conflict, except for those published by the city itself, accepted the existence of a syndicate plot underlying the city's "rape" of the valley. In attempting to balance this construction, Nadeau perhaps argued too vigorously in the city's behalf. Nadeau points, for example, to the building of a railroad line to the valley, the supply of electricity to the towns of Independence and Lone Pine, and the city's willingness to pay taxes on its holdings in the valley as "examples of good will which in other circumstances would have earned the friendship of the settlers." This argument fails to comprehend that those "other circumstances" were all-important in determining the way in which what Nadeau calls "neighborly deeds" by the city were received. The city did not build a railroad line, for example, to benefit the valley it intended to depopulate, but rather because the line was needed to transport materials for the aqueduct. In fact, there is evidence in Chalfant (pages 291-293 of the first edition and pages 360-361 of the second) that the Southern Pacific planned to build a line into the valley as early as 1900 until Henry Huntington scotched the plan when he struck upon the scheme for the aqueduct.
65. Quoted in John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (New York, 1966) p. 109.
66. Chapter 720, *Statutes of 1931* (Senate Bill 141—Crittenden). The act authorized the State Department of Finance to supervise the assignment of water rights as part of a general plan for the orderly development of the state. In cases of dispute, the Department of Finance would act as the final arbiter, a power since transferred to the State Department of Water Resources.
67. *Sacramento Union*, April 3, 1927.

the city that was

*a glimpse just before
April 18, 1906,
and another
just after*

by Roger Olmsted



A purposeful stride through history has been more often than not one of the most striking characteristics of the citizenry of San Francisco—from those days just before the gold rush when Yankee speculators already plotted the growth of a Pacific metropolis down through the recent time of the first important rebellion against freeway madness and mindless redevelopment. Much more than self-confidence is involved in this sense of civic purpose: a subtle and persistent self-consciousness has added some gravity, humor, and perspective to what otherwise might be the feckless boosterism of a place where all sorts of things go on but nothing much changes.

"Of all the marvelous phases of the history of the Present, the growth of San Francisco is one which will most tax the belief of the Future. Its parallel was never known, and shall never be beheld again. I speak only of what I saw with my own eyes." So wrote Bayard Taylor as he departed San Francisco in 1850.

The culmination of the gold rush city—and of the city built on top of it by Ralston's silver, the wealth of bonanza kings and railroad moguls, and the plain progress of the queen city of Pacific commerce—spun a legend as lively as that of Taylor's town. The atmosphere of this San Francisco that coincidentally disappeared with the last survivors of the gold-rush generation has nowhere been captured so well as in the work of the unknown cameraman whose images appear on the following pages. This photographic essay is developed from a pictorial chapter in the forthcoming history of San Francisco by T. H. Watkins and R. R. Olmsted titled *Mirror of the Dream*. It is a mirror in itself, the reflection of a moment when one age ended and another began.

"O that one who has mingled the wine of her bounding life with the wine of his youth should live to write the obituary of Old San Francisco!" lamented Will Irwin at the conclusion of his *New York Sun* essay on the city that had perished in three days of April, 1906. Irwin's prose, once stirring, has worn less well than the Kodak images of the hitherto uncelebrated artist that claim our attention on these few pages.

To be young in Old San Francisco! is a theme that did not escape the Brown Bag Phantom (as we call the photographer), even before nature's catastrophe induced reflection. In 1905, his lunchtime and weekend forays more often than not caught city youth or childhood in the frame of a time that would become especially precious because it concluded so suddenly on April 18. Yet the timing was nothing but a stroke of luck—the important thing is that the eye of this enthusiast with a folding camera would have improved the work of a dozen of the more celebrated San Francisco photographers before his time and not a few since.







At the threshold of a new age. . . . Pondering the old San Francisco that he knew so well and the new San Francisco that he foresaw, the greatest historian of Western America, Hubert Howe Bancroft, wrote shortly after the 1906 conflagration: "In this day of great wealth and wonderful inventions we realize more and more the value of the city to mankind. . . . Cities are not merely marts of commerce; they stand for civility; they are civilization itself. The city street is the school of philosophy, of art, of letters; city society is the home of refinement. In their reciprocal relations the city is as men make it, while from the citizen one may determine the quality of the city. The atmosphere of the city is an eternal force."

The eternal force was usually lively in San Francisco, though it had been dozing in the decade immediately before the turn of the century. A generation that had reveled in the genteel *kitsch* of Woodward's Gardens now gave way to one that bought instant adventure for a nickle at the Chutes on Haight Street. If this monument to *civitas* escaped Bancroft, he certainly indulged in lofty reflection on Golden Gate Park. Here, the sand dunes which the city fathers of the 1860's had dedicated as the playground of future generations were rapidly yielding to the indefatigable zeal of John McLaren and already outstripped in scope, permanence, utility, amenity, and civility the monuments of Billy Ralston, the man alleged to have built the town.

Meanwhile, down at Lotta's Fountain, "Workingmen of the World Unite" was a slogan that appeared almost respectable, if we are to judge by the dress of the interested crowd. In a way, it *was* respectable, for at city hall a mayor and all sixteen supervisors claimed allegiance to a labor party (even while they looted the treasury in the last great raid of the age of saloon politics). Bancroft no doubt disapproved of the politics even more than the graft, since the politics threatened the cheap labor supply he thought essential to float the leviathan of progress, while the graft was but a passing wave that induced temporary nausea.









Time stopped on Sutter Street. . . . The definitive cable car with its definitive passengers is frozen in six-mile-per-hour majesty in a casually reflective moment not long before the fire wiped out all of these bay-windowed shops and residences, reduced most of the cable cars to bare, heat-twisted wheel-trucks, and introduced perhaps one or two of these very riders to the novelties of household tenting in the park.

Like Andrew S. Hallidie's original Clay Street franchise of 1873, the Sutter Street line employed "dummies" as traction units with trailers scarcely different from horse-cars for the bulk of the passengers. The Sutter dummies were as pretty a piece of equipment as ever rattled along an American street, even in an age when a five-cent fare bought some fancy rides. When the management of the present-day Muni system perceives that an electric line using the railroad tracks from the Ferry Building almost to Fort Point will outdo even the overloaded remnants of the cable car system as the most popular traction in America, we will gather courage to suggest the virtues of dummy-and-trailer units inspired by the design of #46. Unfortunately, neither the tourists nor—alas—the natives will enhance these visionary trollies as much as the riders of an era that admired decorum as highly as decor.





The fragrance of time. . . In any age an accounting of the time spent by males of the Younger Generation in just hanging around would prove startling. We are not sure just what you can prove by a photographic examination of idleness—except that by 1905 the pocket camera had reached a point where it was possible to capture this ancient activity with complete detachment.

Yet a vague but powerfully evocative scent of the times wafts from these images. “Manure, spray, and piston-oil,” you may observe, “with a whiff of cheap tobacco.” If not, then maybe you have forgotten the smell of sunlight when you, too, were young enough to hang around.

The Mechanics’ Monument is still where it was, a memorial to the life and lifestyle of Peter Donahue as filtered through the tastes of his son, a railroad magnate a generation older than these youths gathered for a noon lounge. By this time the legacy of Peter Donahue’s gold rush manufactory on the beach at Happy Valley was perpetuated in the Union Iron Works, constructor of battleships at the Potrero. By our time, the Mechanics’ Monument just doesn’t smell the same.

And does the Ocean Beach smell different, too? Most likely. The odor of long-unwashed wool saturated with salt spray is now only history.







Doing things. . . . The pictures on the previous pages showed something of the idle atmosphere that is in part the essence of a city. Here we see some people doing . . . not much, for the most part, but in fact engaged very personally in the city scene. The blind fiddler, observed by city strollers, imposes tangible life and activity on his space. A fellow reflects as he finishes feeding the pigeons. A child's desires center on a miniature version of the nineteenth-century equestrian world—a goat-cart-and-pony fantasy. And a hero in shirtsleeves slashes a base hit through a picnic-afternoon sporting break. The style of a city is indeed a city way of doing things.





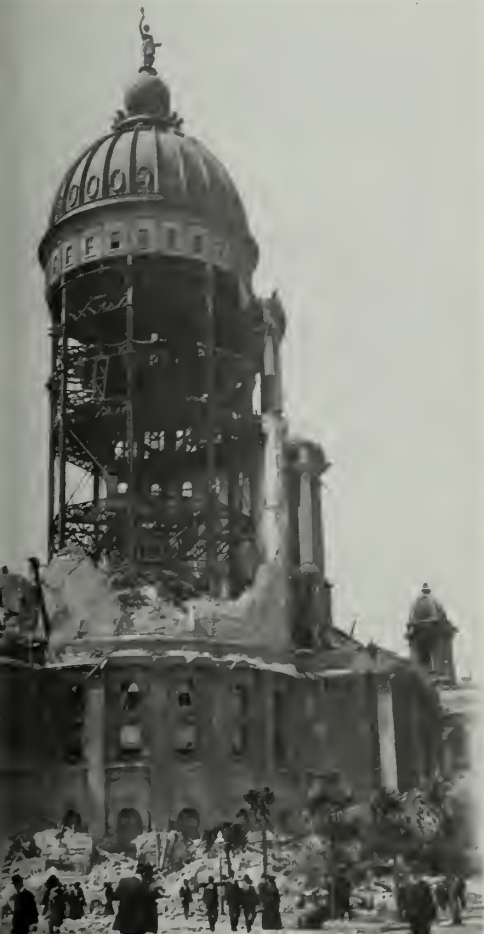


Gone in three days. . . . Only one of our photographer's negatives of the fire in progress has survived. It is a safe bet that he took a full roll early on the first day and then, like nearly all the other cameramen in the city, could get no more film. Another safe bet is that the now-empty sleeves in his album contained some pictures which showed people doing something, a sorely-missed record of that morning of the 18th.

The post-fire scene (with one of the ubiquitous "Port Costa Flour" posters much in evidence) is an attempt to duplicate the fire shot—without a roof for the photographer to stand on. The charred tree shows up in its last foliage at the lower left in the April 18 view.

Sunday archaeology. . . . With the park all filled with tents, a good spring outing might be a stroll around the grounds of the recently-completed city hall, where the graft that accompanied its interminable construction was instantly and literally exposed in the form of such novel and concealed building materials as old newspapers.

Out beyond the fire lines, casual tourist attractions could have been identified by the handiwork of the ad men if nothing else. Today our photographer is a tourist; so there is one shot of #2119 Howard itself and one shot of his party assembled in front of it. But how to stop a roving eye? The lens swings left a little to include kiddies on vehicles, inevitably trying to make the place of so much coming and going into their own afternoon speedway showoff.



Not a moment to lose. . . . "The *Emporium* will again be California's largest and America's greatest department store," reads the sign on a Van Ness Avenue mansion with its knocked-together merchandising extensions. The mills of Oregon and Washington worked two shifts to keep the coastal schooners loaded down with lumber for San Francisco. On Market Street the cable cars are gone forever, and the trolleys are not yet ready to roll—so jitneys rumble through the rubble. In the temporary buildings at the right is "Walter A. Scott, Typewriters, Desks, Chairs." This is the same Walter Scott who later became a professional photographer and has left us some of the finest images of the maritime activity of San Francisco. Was Scott the Brown Bag Photographer, or is this scene just a coincidence? Whatever the case, we must tip our hats to somebody with the gift of sight and insight who fooled around with a Kodak for a couple of years and captured an epoch.





It ain't such a terrible long time ago
That Mrs. Van Bergen and me
Though livin' near by to each other, y' know,
Was strangers, for all ye could see,
For she had a grand house an' horses to drive,
An' a wee rented cottage was mine,
But now we need rations to keep us alive
An' we're standin' together in line.

An' Mrs. Van Bergen she greets me these days
With a smile an' a nod of the head;
"Ah, Mrs. McGinnis, how are you?" she says,
"An' do you like Government bread?"

— Charles K. Field,
"Barriers Burned"



The photographs are from the Muhlmann Collection
of the San Francisco Maritime Museum.

The California National Guard

in the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906

by James J. Hudson

Most of the historical material published about the National Guard is concerned only with the organization's performance as a military fighting force. Relatedly, nearly all militia or National Guard legislation has concentrated on making the National Guard into a more efficient instrument for "repelling invasion." Yet, as a state force the guard has made its greatest contribution to the community by aiding civil authorities during emergencies. These emergencies may arise out of the "acts of men," as in the case of the Wheatland Riots of 1913, or "acts of God," as exemplified by the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. In California the guard is most frequently called upon to serve in the latter type of emergency. Early in this century one of these natural calamities involved virtually the entire state guard. Hastily called to duty, the guard maintained order and dispensed relief for over forty days before being withdrawn from active service. Heated controversy marked its participation in relief efforts; indeed, many days before the occupation had ended, many San Franciscans questioned the wisdom of calling in the force in the first place and petitioned the governor to withdraw the troops. This article investigates the guard's little explored role in what was long regarded as the disaster of the century.

At 5:13 A.M. on Wednesday, April 18, 1906, San Francisco was rocked by one of the most severe earthquakes of modern times.¹ The principal shock came in two movements of maximum intensity and lasted approximately two minutes. Several other minor quakes were felt during the day.² The disturbance rendered inoperative the city's power, heat, light, and communication systems. Water mains cracked, and the proud city of the Argonauts was paralyzed before the ensuing fire which accompanied the earthquake.

Immediately after the quake, no less than a dozen fires broke out in San Francisco's business district.³ Without water the fire department was helpless to stop the conflagration.⁴ Within three hours after the earthquake, the area bounded on the east by San Francisco Bay, on the south by Mission Street, and on the west by Third Street was a mass of seething flames. As the fire spread rapidly to the north and the southwest, thousands of panic-stricken San Franciscans jammed the debris-filled streets in an effort to reach the parks and high

ground to the west of the city. Still other thousands fought their way east to the Ferry Building which had been spared because of the wide Embarcadero. There they crowded onto the ferry boats and crossed to Oakland and other East Bay cities.⁵

Utmost confusion reigned in San Francisco. On every hand were the cries of the injured, the roar of the flames, the crash of falling buildings, and the intermittent blasts of dynamite charges set off by inexperienced fire fighters in a vain effort to stop the fire. Increasing the distress, more tremblors rumbled later in the day. Expressing the wide-spread anxiety, the *Oakland Tribune* predicted in six-inch headlines: "San Francisco Doomed."⁶

It was not until Saturday morning, April 21, three days after the earthquake, that firemen stopped the advance of the fire. With the partial repair of water mains, a small amount of water was brought to play on the fire, but success in stopping the conflagration was in part the result of dynamiting buildings in the fire's path and thereby taking away potential fuel.

As the smoke cleared the people of San Francisco began to take stock of the damage. The flames had swept westward to Van Ness Avenue and Dolores Street, south to Townsend Street, and north and east past Telegraph Hill to the Bay.⁷ A few isolated buildings remained standing in the burned district—mute testimony to superior building materials or to gallant fire fighting efforts. (Ingenious Italians on Telegraph Hill, for instance, saved several houses by beating out flames with sacks and bedding soaked in red wine.⁸) A large section of the wholesale district, almost all of the retail and shopping district, leading hotels, the newspapers' offices, the principal financial centers, most of the public buildings, and thousands of small hotels, apartment houses, and private homes were devastated.⁹ The burned area covered approximately 4.7 square miles in the heart of the city. Of the 521 city blocks in the burned area only thirteen were saved. No less than 28,188 buildings were destroyed, and 200,000 of San Francisco's 450,000 inhabitants were rendered homeless. The loss in real and personal property has been estimated at \$500,000,000, although about \$200,000,000 was recovered through insurance payments.¹⁰ Original estimates placed the loss of life in the thousands, but a careful investigation by Major-General A. W. Greely, commander of the Pacific Division of the regular army, cut the figure to 498 killed and 415 seriously injured.¹¹

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To this list General Greely added another sixty-four dead and fifty-one seriously injured in Santa Rosa, twenty-one dead and ten seriously injured in San Jose, and eighty-one dead at Agnew's Asylum near San Jose.¹²

Within an hour after the first earthquake was felt, and many hours before official orders from Adjutant-General Joseph B. Lauck were received, units of the California National Guard began taking an active part in the effort to alleviate suffering, protect lives and property, and maintain law and order in the stricken city.¹³ As might be expected, the San Francisco-based organizations—the First Infantry Regiment, the First Battalion Coast Artillery, Troop A Cavalry, and the Second Company Signal Corps of the National Guard and four divisions of the California Naval Militia—were first on the scene.¹⁴ Indeed, many members of these units left burning homes and terrified families to assemble at their local armories for duty.¹⁵ Guard companies in other California cities damaged by the earthquake acted in much the same way, particularly in Oakland, Alameda, Santa Rosa, San Jose, and Santa Cruz.

San Francisco units continued to act independently during the first twenty-four hours of the calamity.¹⁶ Brigadier-General John A. Koster, whose Second Brigade headquarters was located in San Francisco, and who ordinarily would have been in command of the San Francisco troops, was with General Lauck in Ukiah on the day of the earthquake. Communications with Koster or Lauck proved impossible due to the destruction of the telephone and telegraph systems in San Francisco. Fortunately, the company grade officers proved resourceful, and on Koster's return to the burning city during the evening of the eighteenth, he found practically all his troops already performing patrol duty.¹⁷

Adjutant-General Lauck moved his headquarters from Sacramento to San Francisco so that he might keep in close touch with the fire fighting and relief operations. He first established himself in the Occidental Hotel at Bush and Montgomery streets, but as the fire advanced he was forced to move to the Union League Club near Post and Stockton streets. A few hours later he was forced to move again, this time to the Fairmont Hotel. On the morning of April 19, he transferred his headquarters to the North End police station on Washington Street, where he remained until the evening of April 20 when he moved to Oakland.¹⁸

Upon hearing of the disaster Governor George C. Pardee

also hurried to the Bay Area from Sacramento. He set up his headquarters in Oakland, establishing himself in Major Frank K. Mott's office. He probably selected Oakland as his base because that city still had communication service with the outside world. From Oakland Governor Pardee organized a campaign to secure aid for the San Francisco sufferers. Other areas in California were requested to send food, clothing, and medical supplies immediately.¹⁹

By April 21, all but one unit of the National Guard and Naval Militia of California had been called out. The Fifth Division of the Naval Militia stationed at Eureka was not called because of its isolated position.²⁰

On April 23 the National Guard troops in the Bay Area were organized into provisional brigades.²¹ The First Provisional Brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Robert Wankowski, comprised all the troops then on duty in Oakland, Alameda, San Jose, Santa Rosa, Berkeley, and Sacramento. The Second Provisional Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General John A. Koster, was made up of troops serving in San Francisco.²²

The activities of the First Battalion of the coast artillery (part of the Second Brigade) during the first few days of the crisis were typical of the units in San Francisco. This battalion assembled without orders early in the morning of April 18 and established a temporary kitchen and hospital at the rear of their partially destroyed armory.²³ At the same time a detachment was sent to aid the fire department in dynamiting buildings along Clay and Mason streets. In the afternoon of that day the battalion moved to Jefferson Square where the guardsmen continued to issue supplies, assist in maintaining order, and guard stores.²⁴ They improvised a wagon train and removed food and supplies from store buildings in the path of the fire.²⁵ Elements of the First Battalion transferred prisoners from the Broadway jail to Fort Mason on April 19. The First Battalion next moved to Golden Gate Park, where it was placed in charge of policing the park and distributing supplies to thousands of destitute refugees.²⁶ A detachment was sent to transfer the patients from St. Luke's Hospital to the Ingleside Race Track where they would be safe from the fire. On April 20 the battalion relinquished command of the Golden Gate Park camp and moved to Haight and Cole streets.²⁷ They erected frame buildings for hospitals, kitchens, and storehouses, and here, as in the previous locations, a

Down Market Street the ornate Call Building (left) and the substantial Emporium (center) succumb to flames, while National Guardsmen clear the streets of the few lagging civilians in the fire line who, in their hurry, register only as blurs in the photographer's camera.

At Market and Battery streets mounted guardsmen patrol for looters and stragglers while the fire rages two blocks away.





PROCLAMATION BY THE MAYOR

The Federal Troops, the members of the Regular Police Force and all Special Police Officers have been authorized by me to KILL any and all persons found engaged in Looting or in the Commission of Any Other Crime.

I have directed all the Gas and Electric Light-ing Co.'s not to turn on Gas or Electricity until I order them to do so. You may therefore expect the city to remain in darkness for an indefinite time.

I request all citizens to remain at home from darkness until daylight every night until order is restored.

I WARN all Citizens of the danger of fire from Damaged or Destroyed Chimneys, Broken or Leaking Gas Pipes or Fixtures, or any like cause.

E. E. SCHMITZ, Mayor

Dated, April 18, 1906.

ALTYATEP PRINT,  MISSION AND 22D STS.

Fear of social anarchy prompted the mayor's emergency order which authorized the guard to shoot looters and set a civilian curfew.

Panorama of destruction from the California Street hill to the Bay.

distribution system was established. Indeed, many of the guardsmen gave their own tents and blankets to the suffering people.²⁸ The battalion remained at the Haight and Cole Street headquarters until relieved from active duty on May 21.²⁹ Throughout this period of active duty the battalion operated as a unit, and little attention was paid to the company organization. Much of the work was done by special detachments responsible directly to the battalion commander.

The National Guard was not the only military organization serving in the city during the disaster. The United States Regular Army, too, was on the scene early on the day of the earthquake. Only minutes after the first shock Brigadier-General Frederick Funston, commander of the California Department and acting commander of the Pacific Division, made a hurried survey of the damage in the business section of the city. To Funston it was immediately apparent that a calamity of unusual proportions was imminent. Without hesitation this veteran of the Philippine campaign ordered all regular troops in the vicinity of San Francisco to report to city authorities for duty in the emergency. He, too, acted without orders from higher headquarters but felt sure the war department would support his actions.³⁰

In response to Funston's orders the troops from Fort Mason reported at 7:45 A.M., those from the Presidio at 8:00 A.M., and those from Fort McDowell and Fort Miley before noon of the first day.³¹ On April 19 troops from Fort Baker, Angel Island, and Alcatraz Island, plus a detachment of marines from Mare Island, were placed on duty in San Francisco. On the same day the Pacific Squadron of the United States Navy reached San Francisco, and sailors and marines were sent ashore to aid in the fight to save the city.³² Saturday, April 21, saw troops from the Presidio of Monterey arrive on the scene, and a week later soldiers from distant Vancouver Barracks in Washington joined the San Francisco contingent.³³

Prompt and direct action by General Funston and the regular army probably prevented much looting and robbery during the first few hours after the earthquake. Detachments of federal troops were sent to guard the United States Mint, the post offices, and other federal buildings. Other detachments removed the records of the Pacific Division of the Department of California from their repositories in the Grant and Phelan buildings when these buildings were threatened by the flames.³⁴ As martial law had not been proclaimed most



Guardsmen set sticks of dynamite to bring down dangerously tottering walls. Their seemingly random blastings during the fire did little to control the blaze and brought forth public criticism.

of the troops were placed under the supervision of city officials; however, General Funston or his superior, General Greely, who had returned to San Francisco on April 23, always sat in on policy making meetings.

Meanwhile, San Francisco Mayor Eugene Schmitz moved quickly to organize civilian efforts in behalf of the city. On the afternoon of April 18 a number of prominent San Franciscans assembled in the Hall of Justice at the mayor's request, and out of this gathering originated the celebrated Citizens' Committee of Fifty.³⁵ This committee, which included ex-mayor James D. Phelan, M. H. DeYoung, Rudolph Spreckels, and E. H. Harriman, virtually replaced the official city government during the ensuing weeks.³⁶ Sub-committees were appointed to handle every conceivable problem. There were committees on "Relief of the Hungry," "Housing," "Citizen Police," "Restoration of City Water," "Sanitation," and "Finance," to name only a few. The mayor made the committee members special officers with full power to represent him in the requisitioning of men, supplies, vehicles, and boats for public use.³⁷

In answer to Governor Pardee's appeal, volunteer donations began to arrive on April 21, only three days after the

crisis began. To the little town of Hayward went the credit for the first load of supplies landed in San Francisco. Relief trains soon were arriving from all parts of the United States. Over 1700 carloads of supplies of all types were received and distributed among 300,000 needy citizens.³⁸ The distribution of such a tremendous quantity of goods to nearly a third of a million people was no small problem, and its supervision was turned over to the regular army.³⁹

No less than five separate organizations were maintaining order in San Francisco: the municipal police, the National Guard, the United States Navy, the citizens' committees, and the United States Regular Army. The fact that all five, for the most part, acted independently of one another added to the confusion and panic arising out of the fire and earthquake. In the words of General Greely, "Such unprecedented conditions might well have caused casualties by the score."⁴⁰

To solve this problem of administration, a meeting was called at Fort Mason on April 21. At this conference, attended by Governor Pardee, General Funston, Mayor Schmitz, and Chief of Police Dinan, the city was divided into three districts with the police patrolling one, the National Guard a second, and the regulars the third.⁴¹ The district assigned to the Na-

tional Guard embraced the territory bounded by Page, Fillmore, Pine, Van Ness Avenue, Eleventh, Harrison, Sixteenth, and by an irregular line to former K, Eleventh Avenue, former H, and Stanyan streets.⁴² To assist in the patrolling of this extremely large area, approximately six square miles, the San Francisco guard units were reinforced by other guard units.⁴³ This district, with only a minor change, remained under the supervision and control of the National Guard until the whole city was redistricted on May 8.⁴⁴ In order to comply with the standards of the other districts General Koster issued the following instructions to his unit commanders:

The responsibility for the maintenance of good order in the district assigned to the National guard rests with the troops. Owing to the peculiarity of the situation, it is imperative that officers of all grades, as well as the enlisted men, assume and maintain a courteous but firm attitude, and deport themselves at all times in a manner that will reflect creditably on the organization as a whole.

All streets will be properly patrolled, suspicious characters will be arrested and brought before the subdistrict commander, who will, if in his judgment the cases warrant, turn them over to the police authorities.

Lights of any kind in residences or buildings and the use of stoves of any description will not be permitted until further orders.

Fires will only be permitted on the streets or roads between the hours of 7 A.M. and 6 P.M., and must be at all times kept under control.

Sanitary measures will be strictly enforced, particularly regarding the use of latrines and disposition of all garbage. Citizens will be required to police in the vicinity of their homes or temporary quarters, and daily inspections by medical officers of the subdistricts will be made and reports made to this office.

The sale or disposition of liquors in any manner is forbidden.

The comfort of the public will at all times receive careful consideration and every assistance rendered to alleviate suffering and relieve distress.

Such features not covered by these instructions will, if considered of sufficient importance, be immediately reported to these Headquarters.⁴⁵

The Second Company, Signal Corps, commanded by Captain G. M. Scott, laid, operated, and maintained military telegraph lines between brigade headquarters in Jefferson

Square and the headquarters of the subdistrict commanders. Captain Scott showed ingenuity in the laying of these lines by dropping them into the temporarily abandoned cable car slots instead of trying to erect an overhead system. Over three miles of wire was laid in this manner.⁴⁶

Without a doubt, the National Guard performed a major service in relieving suffering in the devastated city. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the National Guard was feeding "25,000 to 30,000 persons daily." At the principal distribution point, Jefferson Square, over 15,000 were being fed; at the Market Street cut at Church and Duboce avenues another 12,000 received subsistence, while lesser numbers were being taken care of at the Mission Park station and the Haight and Cole streets station.⁴⁷ A National Guard bakery produced over a thousand loaves of bread per day. Some of the supplies distributed to the destitute were purchased locally with vouchers signed by the adjutant-general, but most provisions came through the regular army quartermaster.⁴⁸

In a move to further facilitate coordination between the California National Guard and the regular army, Governor Pardee asked General Greely to forward copies of his orders to General Koster of the National Guard. Koster thus could issue similar orders to his own men.⁴⁹

By May 8 the situation in San Francisco had improved to such an extent that General Greely relieved all United States Naval forces from duty in the city. The order releasing the sailors also redistricted the city, dividing it into six districts, five of which were to be under the control of the regular troops and one to be controlled by the California National Guard. The fourth district, assigned to the guard, was bounded on the "north by Union Street, on the east by the San Francisco Bay, on the south by Market Street to Castro Street, thence south on Castro Street to Eighteenth Street, thence west on Eighteenth Street to Stanyan Street, thence north on Stanyan Street to Oak Street, thence east on Oak Street to Divisadero Street to Union Street."⁵⁰ This district covered the entire business section and a large part of the residential section north of Market Street. In normal times half the population of San Francisco lived in this area.⁵¹

Early in May a great many of the restrictions which had been imposed on the people during the first two weeks of the disaster were withdrawn. The military duties of the National Guard now consisted only of guarding federal and state

At temporary camps such as this one in the Presidio, guardsmen dispensed precious drinking water which had been sterilized to prevent spread of disease. At first most water was brought from Oakland on barges, and no control was exercised to insure fair distribution of supplies.



property and protecting exposed property of great value.⁵² Its chief non-military duty continued to be the administration of relief in its district, a function which it carried on conscientiously until released from active duty three weeks later.

The last of the California guard units was relieved from active service on May 31, 1906.⁵³ The *San Francisco Chronicle* seemed to breathe a sigh of relief as it headlined its report of the event with "National Guardsmen Withdrawn At Last."⁵⁴ Indeed, many believed the recall should have come a month earlier than it did. From the very beginning of the emergency the calling of National Guard had been a controversial subject. On his arrival in the Bay Area, Governor Pardee had offered Mayor Schmitz the "services of the state." In reply, Schmitz had specified that provisions, tents, and other supplies were needed, but he made no mention of the state-controlled National Guard. Pardee chose to ignore this omission and called the guard to active duty anyway.⁵⁵

The campaign to have the guard withdrawn from the city got under way on April 23, when the mayor and the citizens' committee unanimously approved the following proclamation:

Resolve that the Governor be requested to withdraw the militia from the City and County of San Francisco, and that a hearty vote of thanks and appreciation be tendered to the militia for their services in maintaining law and order in San Francisco.

The work of relief has been thoroughly systematized and as all

dangers are passed and quiet has been restored, the militia will no longer be needed.⁵⁶

The statement that the guard was no longer needed, however, rang false when it was discovered that the citizens' committee at the same time was urging the United States War Department to send 3,000 more regulars.⁵⁷ Furthermore, a citizens' police recruiting program was being pushed to help guard the city.⁵⁸

In retrospect it seems likely that Schmitz had other reasons for asking for the recall of the state troops. The Abe Ruef-Eugene Schmitz political organization had long been opposed by Pardee, and it is possible that the state's military establishment was merely caught in the crossfire. Then, too, the mayor may have feared that the presence of the guard might restrict his own powers since the soldiers were ultimately responsible to the governor. In addition, Schmitz was being urged on in his objections by certain members of the citizens' committee including E. H. Harriman and M. H. DeYoung, who were supporters of the Southern Pacific political machine which Pardee had rebuffed a few months before.⁵⁹ Finally, the notable lack of cooperation between the state forces and the city authorities in San Francisco may have prompted the withdrawal proclamation. The mayor took the latter reason as his avenue of attack when, in an open letter to General Koster, he wrote:

A great number of complaints have come in and are coming in to this



office relating to arrests by your National Guard of reputable citizens in the employ of the city and even doctors and officials of the city and county and pressing them into service for work upon the public streets. Such action is absolutely illegal, and I wish to hereby officially notify you that until such time as you are relieved by the Federal troops or the Police Department that you issue an order to your men that these acts stop immediately. There is no martial law, and never has been since the earthquake, and, therefore, in order that there will be no conflict between our officers and your men, I wish you would see to it that they act merely as sentinels and not take the drastic measures that in some cases they are taking.⁶⁰

Pardee, always a stout champion of the citizen soldier, looked with displeasure on the request of the citizens' committee that he withdraw the National Guard. When asked if he had heard of the charges of disorderly conduct, drunkenness, and reckless use of firearms by members of the National Guard he answered angrily:

Such charges are absurd and cowardly. I have been a member of the National Guard, in one capacity or another, almost continuously since 1872, and I know whereof I speak when I say that the members of the National Guard of California compare favorably with any equal number of citizens of this or any other state. These young men give their service to the State from patriotic motives, and, in times like these, take their lives in their hands to protect property and life.

Pardee went on to say he was sure that investigation would prove the charges totally false. He reminded the people that

they had been proud of the First California Regiment's Philippine service only a few years earlier. Then he continued in still more indignant terms:

It is a shame and a cowardly thing for anyone to falsely accuse the young men of our National Guard . . . I would to God that those who are cowardly enough to besmirch the reputation of our citizen soldiery were half as good men and citizens as the soldiers of California.⁶¹

It soon became obvious to all that Governor Pardee did not intend to remove the guard from San Francisco until the crisis was over. In deference to Schmitz's open letter, however, he did advise Adjutant-General Lauck to direct the soldiers to exercise greater care in choosing civilian labor gangs.⁶²

New accusations against the Guard filled the newspapers. One headline screamed, "Blame Militia for Much Looting."⁶³ Another read, "State Troops on Leave, Capitalist and Society Men Among Chinatown Looters."⁶⁴ Concurrently, the *Sacramento Union* featured an article entitled, "Rumors of Military Executions."⁶⁵ The guard continued to be the center of a hot controversy for the next few weeks with most of the city newspapers taking an anti-guard stand.⁶⁶ M. H. DeYoung's *San Francisco Chronicle* was exceptionally critical. Only the *San Francisco Call* seemed to steer a middle course on the militia matter. Indeed, its reporters found reason for an occasional smile in seeing commandeered city officials and

society people working in the debris-filled streets under a common soldier's supervision. Doubtlessly, some of the accusations were true, but many more were not. Regardless of the import of each charge against the National Guard, it was carefully investigated by the judge advocate's department, and reports were submitted to Adjutant-General Lauck and to Governor Pardee.

In spite of the circulation of wild stories concerning the shooting of citizens by the state troops, the San Francisco coroner's officer found only three cases of death by shooting.⁶⁷ General Greely's report lists nine deaths due to violence during the whole period.⁶⁸ Two of the nine deaths—Frank Riordan and Joseph Myers—were attributed to the California National Guard, and in both cases a careful investigation by the judge advocate's department found that the circumstances justified the drastic action taken.⁶⁹ The two National Guardsmen accused of the shooting were subsequently tried in a civil court and, in both cases, freed.⁷⁰

Considerable truth could be found, however, in the charge of looting by National Guardsmen. On investigation of one charge, the judge advocate was advised by the commanding officer of the army's Twentieth Infantry Regiment that the regulars had arrested

... between fifteen and twenty members of the National Guard of California ... for looting in the burned district, principally Chinatown; that some had been turned loose and others had been sent back to their commanding officers in custody.⁷¹

Other cases investigated proved less conclusive in determining National Guard guilt. Since the guard and the regular army wore essentially the same uniform, it was not unusual for the former to be accused of crimes and derelictions from duty which should have been laid at the door of the latter.⁷²

The poor coordination between the civil government and the militia soldiers caused still other unfortunate incidents and charges. Because the National Guard was seldom notified promptly of changes in orders issued by the mayor's office, for example, state troops prevented Japanese-American Bank officials from opening their own bank safe. Although the bank officials had a permit signed by Police Chief Dinan authorizing them to open the safe, they were informed by the soldiers that Dinan's signature was not enough. It took two calls to General Koster and a letter from the mayor's office before the

safe was opened.⁷³ Apparently, the guard was still operating under the April 30 order which said no permit was to be recognized unless signed by both Mayor Schmitz and General Greely. It was not until the bank incident that guard officers were informed that the April 30 directive had been superseded.⁷⁴

In another case a National Guard sentry stationed at Broadway and Fourteenth Street refused to allow W. G. Palman-tier, manager of the Central Bank, to enter his bank when he could not properly identify himself. After calling the police department, the bank official was finally able to convince the soldier of his identity. Meanwhile a large crowd had gathered and "hugely enjoyed the discomforture of the banker and cheered the sentry for his strict obedience to orders."⁷⁵

It should not be concluded, however, that all or even a majority of the people of San Francisco desired to recall the National Guard. At the same time that Pardee received the citizens' committee's request to withdraw the state troops, he received a petition bearing 1833 signatures from the Camp Forrest (Fell and Laguna streets) Relief Committee stating:

We herewith desire to express our commendation for the manner which the State Militia have conducted themselves. . . . We have been informed that they are about to be withdrawn, and if so, we feel that the security and peace of mind that now exists in this community may be impaired. . . . We hope that they may be continued in the service.⁷⁶

On the same day Pardee received another petition requesting that the National Guard be retained on active duty:

We the undersigned, citizens of San Francisco, residing in 1st Military District now controlled by the California State Troops respectfully petition Your Excellency that said State Troops be retained in public service of policing the afore mentioned district, and that they be given full charge of distribution of provisions to the destitute families of the citizens of this district.

Many thousands . . . have been promptly and efficiently aided by the ministrations of said state troops. . . .⁷⁷

Perhaps the strongest protest against the withdrawal of the troops can be found in an enormous petition which included the names of 75 per cent of all the people living in districts patrolled by the National Guard.⁷⁸ This petition, which contained over 20,000 signatures, read as follows:

From and After

Thursday April 26, 1906

At 12 o'clock noon

No further FREE transportation

**By any Railroad will be granted Except upon Official Order of Major-General Greely
or the Mayor, to Destitute Women and Children**

E. E. Schmitz

**Mayor of the City and County of
San Francisco**

*By the end of April commercial operations
were returning to normal, although
divisions of guardsmen were kept in the city
until mid-May, to the dismay of
many civilians.*

We, the undersigned property owners and business men of the City of San Francisco, have heard with the deepest regret the proceedings of the so called "Citizens Committee's" requesting the withdrawal of the State troops in the City. We wish in the most emphatic manner to enter our protest against the withdrawal of the National Guard at this time. Their services since the outbreak of the terrible conflagration that destroyed our city have been of the very greatest value. In fact, it is well known that we owe the preservation of a great part of the residence part of the City to their efforts on the first night of the fire, when they checked it on Octavia and Golden Gate Avenues. The Districts that have been patrolled by the National Guard are in perfect order. There have been no disturbances of any kind. We have been able to retire to our houses at night with a feeling of perfect security, in so far as any danger from any outbreak or any thing of that kind is concerned. The very greatest order has been maintained, not only among the citizens, but among the Guard itself. No cases of drunkenness or improper conduct have been seen among any of the men composing the State troops. It is urged that for the present at any rate the Guard be maintained in charge of the districts they are now patrolling.⁷⁹

These petitions were buttressed by dozens of letters from individuals who manifested a real interest in keeping the guard on duty. It would seem that the people who had the closest contact with the guard during the period following the earthquake believed that the organization had rendered a service "of the very greatest value."

Perhaps the best estimate of the California National Guard's performance during the crisis is found in Major-General Greely's official report to the War Department in 1906. Greely

pointed out the youth, inexperience, and occasional rashness of the state troops, but he characterized the men as "intelligent, well-meaning, subordinate, and zealous." He touched briefly upon the delicate situation existing between the city authorities and the citizen soldiers and seemed convinced that the latter had performed a creditable job under the circumstances. Finally, General Greely contradicted the rumor that the guard had not cooperated with the Regular forces when he wrote that the

relations of General Koster (commander of the National Guard in San Francisco) with the commanders of contiguous military district occupied by the Regular Army, with General Funston, the department commander, and with myself, were always of the most courteous and harmonious character.⁸⁰

General Funston similarly expressed his own appreciation of the cooperation between the two military forces in a letter to Governor Pardee on May 26, 1906.⁸¹

The state legislature on June 12, 1906, expressed the thanks of the whole state to both military organizations when it passed Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4, which said in part:

Resolve, That the people of the State of California, through its representatives in senate and assembly, hereby makes public recognition of grateful appreciation of the services rendered by the officers and men of the Regular Army and the National Guard in one of the greatest calamities that ever convulsed a brave, a resolute, and a resourceful people.⁸²

Judgments on the need for and the effectiveness of the state troops during the San Francisco catastrophe were varied and intense. There can be little doubt that some of the emotional statements made on each side of the controversy were politically motivated. Much of the early confusion was the result of poor coordination between the civil and military leaders. While some of the criticisms aimed at the National Guard were justified, on the whole it performed in a creditable and worthwhile manner during nearly six weeks of the most trying time in San Francisco's history.

The photographs on pages 140 and 142 are courtesy the Bancroft Library; all the others are from the California Historical Society Library.

Notes

1. David Starr Jordan, ed., *The California Earthquake of 1906* (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1907), p. 81. This book, edited by the president of Stanford University, contains many articles by earthquake experts including C. Branner, vice-president and professor of geology at Stanford; Charles Derleth, Jr., associate professor of structural engineering at the University of California; and F. Omori, member of the Imperial Earthquake Investigation Committee of Japan.
2. *After Earthquake and Fire*, a reprint appearing in the *Mining and Scientific Press* (San Francisco: Mining and Scientific Press, 1906), p. 12.
3. A. Albert Reed, *The San Francisco Conflagration of April, 1906*, Special Report to the National Board of Fire Underwriters (New York, 1906), p. 5.
4. Fire Chief Pat Sullivan was seriously injured and his wife was killed by the first shocks of the quake. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1906, p. 1.
5. *Oakland Tribune*, April 19, 1906, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1906, p. 1.
7. Charles J. O'Connor and others, *San Francisco Relief Survey* (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913) map opposite page 3.
8. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 22, 1906.
9. The San Francisco daily newspapers, all of which were burned out, were quick to make an effort to resume operations. On Thursday, the day following the earthquake, the morning journals issued a small combination sheet bearing the heading *Call-Chronicle-Examiner*. This was set up and printed in the office of the *Oakland Tribune*. The San Francisco papers continued to be published in Oakland for some time but under their own headings.
10. O'Connor, *Relief Survey*, pp. 4-5.
11. U.S. War Department, *Annual Report of the War Department, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), I: 101. General Greely's report is contained in this volume, pp. 92-253. Henceforth referred to as *Greely, Report*.
12. *Greely, Report*, p. 101.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
14. The Naval Militia of California, having been previously separated from the National Guard, was called to active service during the San Francisco catastrophe under a separate order by Governor George C. Pardee.
15. California Adjutant-General's Office, *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General, 1906* (Sacramento: State Printer, 1906), p. 44. Members assembled despite the fact no disaster plan had been worked out previously.
16. Perhaps the best source for the early action of these troops is the Monthly Returns of the companies. These returns are filed in the adjutant-general's office (hereinafter AGO) in Sacramento.
17. Report of Captain George W. Bauer, Naval Militia, November 6, 1906, I, in the adjutant-general's files. This gives an account of the Naval Militia's part in the first days activities. See also Company Returns for National Guard activities.
18. Adjutant-General Lauck to Governor George C. Pardee, April 25, 1906, adjutant-general's files.
19. The George C. Pardee Papers in The Bancroft Library on the University of California's Berkeley campus contain much valuable material on the San Francisco earthquake and fire. Possibly the best account of Pardee's activities during the early days of the disaster is the Report of Second-Lieutenant Jacob Alexander, Second Infantry, California National Guard, to Governor Pardee, May 24, 1906, contained in Pardee's papers. Lieutenant Alexander was Pardee's aide and special observer during this crisis.
20. California Adjutant-General's Office, *General and Special Orders and Circulars, 1907* (Sacramento: W. W. Shannon, 1908), p. 63.
21. AGO, *Annual Report, 1906*, 58.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 40-41, 45, 58.
23. Report of Major Francis V. Keesling, commander of the First Battalion Coast Artillery, May 25, 1906, p. 1. Adjutant-General's files, Sacramento.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
25. Report of Lieutenant-Colonel M. M. Ogden, National Guard of California, Retired, on the assistance rendered homeless people by the National Guard, Pardee Papers.
26. Keesling, *Report*, p. 6.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
28. These guardsmen lived in San Francisco, and many of the refugees were their own families, relatives, and friends.
29. AGO, *Annual Report, 1906*, p. 64. The order is in Field Order No. 17.
30. *Greely, Report*, pp. 91-92.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
32. President Theodore Roosevelt to Governor George C. Pardee, April 21, 1906, telegram in Pardee Papers. The president indicated that the navy would remain as long as needed.
33. Greely, *Report*, pp. 93-95.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95. These buildings were later consumed by fire.
35. O'Conner, *Relief Survey*, p. 8.
36. Greely, *Report*, p. 107.
37. John P. Young, *History of San Francisco* (2 vols., San Francisco: 1912), II: 838-839.
38. For an example of how one city organized relief for San Francisco, see *Report of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Citizens' Relief Committee concerning the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire* (Los Angeles, 1907).
39. Major Carroll A. Devo, "How the Army worked to save San Francisco," *Journal United States Infantry Association*, IV (July, 1907): 108-119.
40. Greely, *Report*, p. 98.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
42. AGO, *General and Special Orders*, 1907, p. 65.
43. Reinforcements included the Sixth Infantry Regiment; most of the Second Infantry Regiment (Company H remained at San Jose); Companies D, H and I, Fifth Infantry Regiment; Troops B and C, First Cavalry Squadron; and three Naval Militia divisions.
44. AGO, *General and Special Orders*, 1907, p. 63. See also the returns of these units.
45. AGO, *General and Special Orders*, 1907, p. 65.
46. Return, Company B, Signal Corps, April, 1906, in adjutant-general's files.
47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 29, 1906, p. 15.
48. Greely, *Report*, pp. 154-155.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.
51. Young, *San Francisco*, II: 69.
52. The Pacific Division commander specified what was to be considered in this category.
53. AGO, *Annual Report*, pp. 61-64.
54. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1906, p. 8.
55. Report, Pardee to C. K. McClatchy of the *Sacramento Bee*, undated, 20 pages, Pardee Papers.
56. Citizens' Committee to Governor Pardee, April 23, 1906, Pardee Papers.
57. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 29, 1906, p. 2. A telegram from Secretary of War William H. Taft to Governor Pardee, dated April 26, indicates that General Greely had asked for 2500 more men. Pardee on April 27 sent a telegram to Taft asking the latter to hold up the sending of the troops.
58. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1906, p. 4.
59. Most of San Francisco's newspapers were owned or controlled by old line Republican proponents of the Southern Pacific machine. In order to punish Governor Pardee for his defection these newspapers, such as DeYoung's *Chronicle*, may have sought to impugn his pet organization, the National Guard.
60. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 25, 1906, p. 2.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Pardee to Lauck, April 24, 1906, Pardee Papers.
63. *San Francisco Examiner*, April 26, 1906, p. 3.
64. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 30, 1906, p. 1.
65. *Sacramento Union*, April 25, 1906, p. 3. Copy in the Pardee Papers.
66. General John A. Koster to Adjutant-General J. B. Lauck, June 11, 1906, Pardee Papers. In this letter Koster complained bitterly against what he considered unfair journalism.
67. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 6, 1906, p. 32.
68. Greely, *Report*, p. 98.
69. Report, Judge Advocate W. P. Humphreys to Adjutant-General's office, April 30, 1906, Pardee Papers.
70. AGO, *Annual Report*, 1906, pp. 13, 48. Hiram Johnson served as the defense council for one of those accused guardsmen. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1906, p. 5.
71. Judge Advocate W. P. Humphreys to Adjutant-General's office, April 28, 1906, Pardee Papers.
72. Lauck to Pardee, undated, Pardee Papers.
73. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1906, p. 5.
74. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1906, p. 5.
75. *San Francisco Call*, May 9, 1906, p. 1.
76. Letter and petition, Camp Forrest Relief Committee to Governor Pardee, April 24, 1906, Pardee Papers.
77. Citizens of First Military District to Governor Pardee, April 24, 1906, Pardee Papers.
78. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 26, 1906, p. 1. See also Pardee's letter to *Collier's* May 21, 1906, Pardee Papers.
79. Petition in regard to the withdrawal of the National Guard, signed by property owners of San Francisco who object to citizens' committee's request for the Guard to be withdrawn, undated, Pardee Papers.
80. Greely, *Report*, p. 103.
81. Pardee Papers.
82. *Journal of the Senate and Assembly of California*, Extra Session, Thirty-sixth Legislature, 1906 (Sacramento: 1906), 105-106. Also in AGO *General and Special Orders*, 1906, p. 48.

THE SEARCH FOR A SOUTHERN OVERLAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA

By HARLAN H. HAGUE

The first region "known" to Europeans in what is now the United States was not at the mouth of the James River nor was it on the western shore of the Bay of Cape Cod. The two-year residence in present-day New Mexico by the Spaniard, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, pre-dated Sir Walter Raleigh's attempted settlement of Roanoke Island in the 1580's by forty-five years and lasted longer. A significant Spanish presence in New Mexico began in 1598, nine years before the founding of Jamestown. Long before English settlers began to leave their boats to cut paths beyond the fall line of the James River, trails in the Southwest between Spanish settlements in Mexico and New Mexico had been well-established and regularly used.

While settlement of New Mexico continued during the seventeenth century, the Spaniards also turned their attention westward, and eventually the lure of California attracted them, as it would Mexicans and Americans at a later date. Whether traveling from the United States, New Mexico, or Mexico, however, great expanses had to be crossed to reach the fabled land. When the Spanish discovered that they could not adequately supply and populate their California settlements by the sea route from Mexico's western coast, they pioneered an overland route from Sonora to Southern California. The year was 1774, two years before the signing of the American Declaration of Independence and fifty-two years before Jedediah Smith became the first American to enter California by an overland route. The first party of emigrants to enter California overland traveled the southern route in 1775, sixty-six years before the Bartleson-Bidwell party inaugurated the California Trail as an emigrant route.

In contrast to northern trails, the southern route was no single, well-defined path. With some exceptions, it was made up of a number of trails which generally converged at or near the Pima Indian villages on the Gila River in Arizona. From there, the trail followed the Gila downstream to its confluence with the Colorado, then westward across the southern desert to the coast.

Certainly, there was no "Gila Trail," as the term is popularly used today in western literature. The term is a mis-

nomer, and a glance at maps that trace the paths followed by southwestern explorers reveals how little the routes touched the Gila River. California-bound travelers on the various branches of the southern route did not refer to a "Gila Trail"; the term was invented much later by historians in need of a handy reference. The selection of "Gila Trail" to fill that need was unfortunate, however, for use of the term has generated a myth that there was a single trail to California through the Southwest that ran alongside the Gila River. In reality, the southern route was more complex than the myth, and while the beginnings of the more northerly trails have been discussed and rediscussed, the origins of the southern route are here for the first time explored as an integrated subject. More thorough study is deserved.

The first leg of the first overland route to California was pioneered by the Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino.¹ Arriving in 1687 in the Pimería Alta—the name then applied to southern Arizona and northern Sonora—to minister to Indians on New Spain's northern frontier, Kino's spiritual devotion was matched by his zeal for discovery. Of all the pioneers who trekked southwestern trails from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century, Kino is probably most deserving of the title of pathfinder. On his numerous trips throughout present-day northern Sonora and southern Arizona, he seldom possessed any military escort and generally traveled with only a few Indian companions who seem to have usually been servants rather than guides. It is obvious, however, that the padre often followed Indian trails and was assisted by local Indians during his journeys.

In the early years of his ministry, Kino devoted his energies to building missions and otherwise extending the influence of the church within the boundaries of present-day Sonora. But in the year 1699, while on an expedition to the Gila River, Kino was given some blue shells that changed all that. The shells were similar to some he had seen on the Pacific side of Baja California in 1685 and had never seen elsewhere. Kino reasoned that the shells must have come overland from the coast.² Though he never ceased his quest for souls, from that year the friar occupied himself most fervently in the search for a land route to California.

Kino saw good reason for opening a road between Sonora and California. The Manila Galleon—the trade ship which traveled annually from Mexico to the Philippine Islands and

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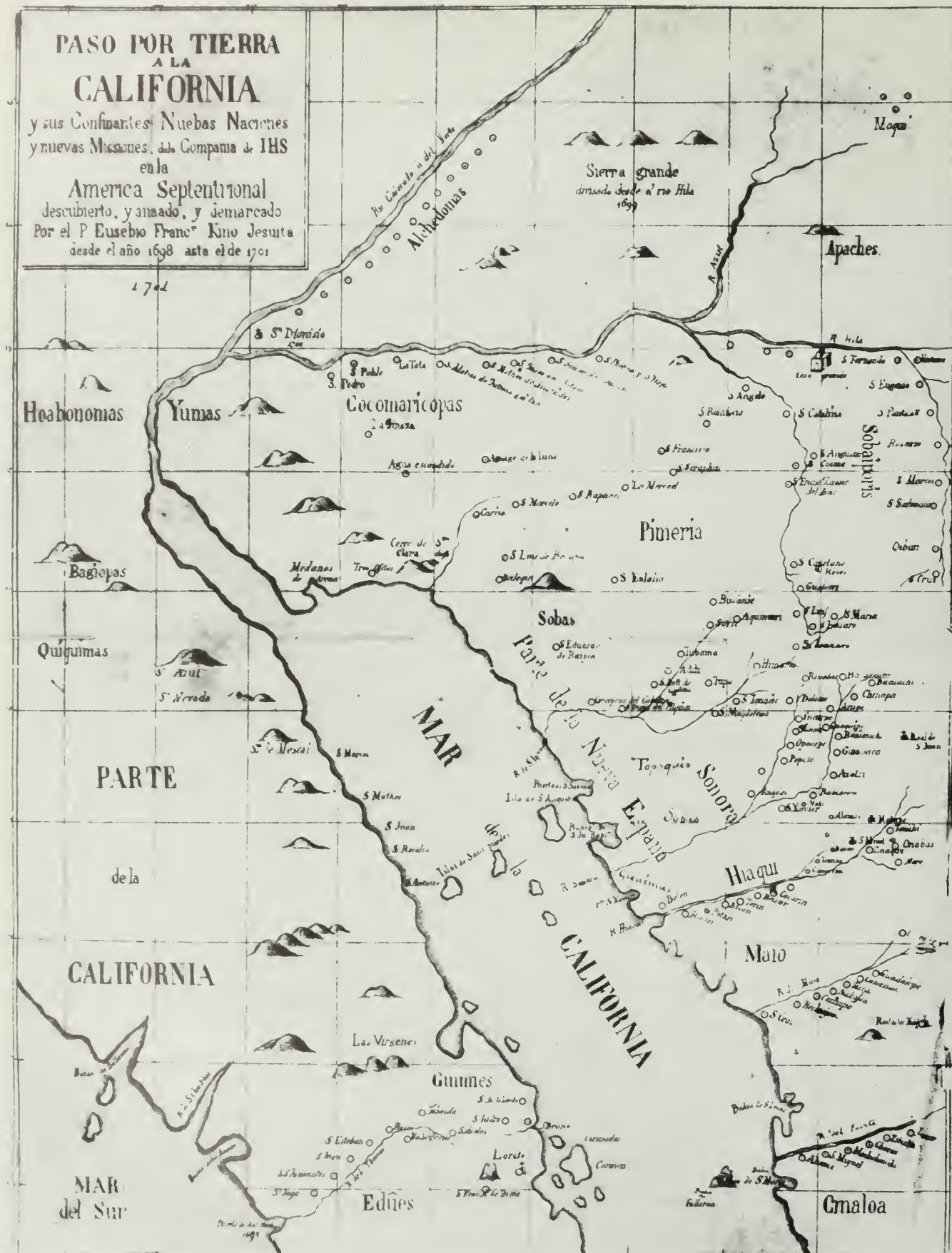
JUNCTION OF THE GILA AND COLORADO RIVERS. LOOKING UP THE GILA.

The principal branches of the southern route converged at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers. Most Spanish, Mexican, and American travelers crossed the Colorado at this point and entered the dreaded desert beyond.

PASO POR TIERRA A LA CALIFORNIA

y sus Confinantes: Nuevas Naciones
y nuevas Misiones, de la Compañia de IHS
en la

America Septentrional
descubierto, y amado, y demarcado
Por el P. Eusebio Francisco Kino Jesuita
desde el año 1698 asta el de 1701



The Spanish version of Kino's 1701 map of Pimería Alta, titled "Passage by Land to California," proved that he had discovered a land route to California and that Lower California was a peninsula, not an island.

Mission church San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, founded by Father Kino in 1700 and rebuilt in the late eighteenth century.



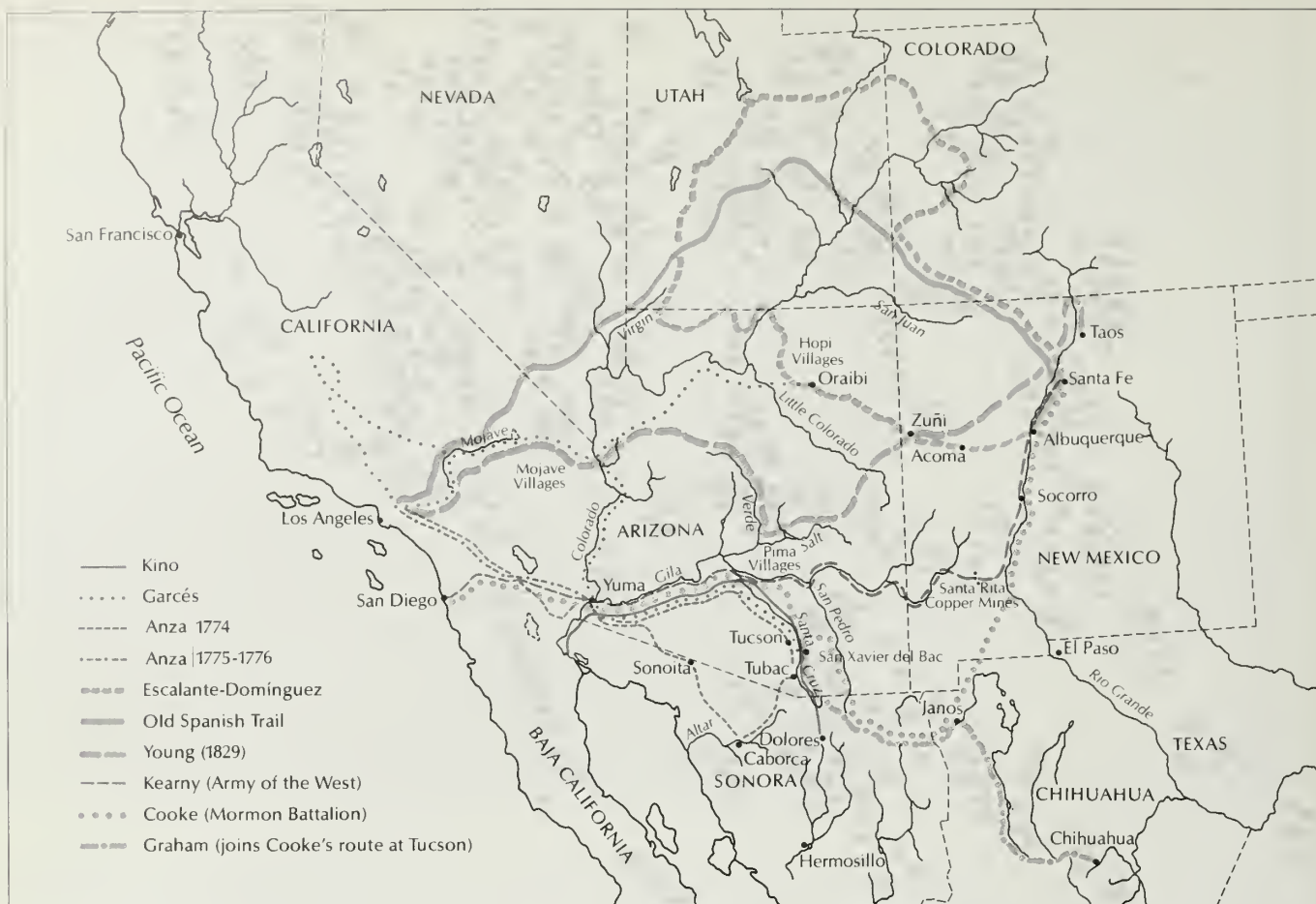
back—could be provisioned from the Pimería, and the upper frontier could participate in the trade with the Galleon. A newly-prosperous Pimería then would be able to expand its commerce with the interior of Mexico and open trade with New Mexico and perhaps even beyond to New France.³

According to his own count, Kino made fourteen expeditions to prove that there was a land passage to California and, further, that lower California was a peninsula rather than an island. Indeed, he crossed the Colorado River to the California side in the course of his explorations. Kino eventually wrote of his findings: "I discovered the land-passage . . . at the confluence of the Río Grande de Gila and the abundant waters of the Río Colorado." As to that land lying west of the Colorado River, Kino added: "I assign the name of Upper California. . . ."⁴ Kino's dream of an overland route to California lapsed with his death in 1711.

More than fifty years passed before the task was taken up by another missionary, Father Francisco Garcés, a Franciscan.⁵ Cast in Kino's mold and stationed at the southern Arizona mission of San Xavier del Bac, which Kino had founded, Garcés made five journeys during his short thirteen-year ministry in the Pimería that earned for him a reputation as one of the greatest explorers in the history of the American West.

Garcés' first two journeys were missionary ventures designed to strengthen the influence of the church as far as the Gila River, but the third expedition was more important as a step toward opening a trail to California. Convinced by the successes of his first two trips that the tribes he had visited were ready for conversion, Garcés set out in 1771 to select the best sites for new missions. He traveled from San Xavier to the Gila, then down that stream. Because the Gila was swollen by recent rains, he failed to recognize the confluence with the Colorado, so he continued downstream toward the gulf. Finally deciding that the Colorado lay westward, the padre crossed the river, still thinking he was on the Gila. In search of the Colorado, Garcés, now on the California side of the river, made two treks into the desert. Both times, he started with guides; both times, his guides deserted him. How far he penetrated on these solitary journeys is not known. On the second, he came in sight of a range of mountains and saw two passes through it, but he despaired of going on and turned back.⁶

Though he was lost part of the time, Garcés unknowingly had pioneered a new trail from the Colorado toward the Spanish California settlements. The principal significance of his third expedition was its effect on the fruition of another expedition from the Pimería Alta just three years later which would reach the California coast.



The principal trails comprising the southern route to California.

Travelers found the Pima Indians to be hospitable and willing to trade for provisions. Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans frequently commented on their carefully-tended irrigated fields.



The idea for searching out an overland route to California had been a dream of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza for many years.⁷ From 1769, when he unsuccessfully sought permission to organize an expedition for that purpose, Anza tried to convince his superiors that a road could and should be opened. Garcés' reports of his expeditions supported Anza's view. Eventually Father Junipéro Serra spoke strongly in favor of the project. Serra's advice appears to have had considerable influence on the viceroy who shortly after gave his approval to Anza's plan.⁸

Anza's expedition departed Sonora in January, 1774. To the Gila, across the Colorado, and into the desert beyond, Garcés guided the column over trails known to him. From there to the California coast, the expedition was guided by Sebastián Tarabal. Tarabal was a "mission Indian" who had run away from San Gabriel and made his way overland to Sonora where Anza persuaded him to join the expedition.⁹

The worst stretch of the entire trip for the Spaniards was the crossing of the Colorado Desert where both Garcés and Tarabal had been lost during their previous journeys. As a result, the Spaniards wandered and suffered until Tarabal recognized landmarks and brought the expedition to San Gabriel mission in mid-March, 1774.

The first overland route to California had been found. Kino had located the trail as far as the Colorado River. Garcés extended the path across the Colorado and into the desert beyond. Anza, with the help of Garcés and Tarabal, completed the route to the Pacific Ocean.

The first practical use of the new road was made the following year. In 1775, a royal decree recognized the growing importance of Alta California and changed the seat of government from Loreto in Baja California to Monterey. Though the decree was not implemented until 1777, action was taken immediately to increase the Spanish population of Upper California. Anza was directed to lead an expedition of soldiers and colonists to establish a settlement at the Bay of San Francisco.

The expedition of 240 persons set out from Anza's frontier presidio to Tubac in October, 1775. The route followed was essentially the same as the 1774 journey, except that it was straightened out in a number of places. Garcés accompanied Anza as far as the Colorado River but remained there to minister to the Indians and to explore. Anza led the expedi-

tion into San Gabriel on January 4, 1776. The only death during the entire journey was a woman who died from the complications of childbirth. Indeed, the expedition's numbers had been increased by three babies born during the trip.

While Anza was proving the feasibility of travel between Sonora and California, others were attempting to directly link Spanish settlements in New Mexico and California. In early 1776, Father Garcés set out northward from the Yuma villages on a journey that took him across the Mojave Desert to Mission San Gabriel, over the Tehachapi Mountains to the San Joaquin Valley, and thence back across the mountains and desert to the Colorado River.¹⁰ He had planned to travel directly between the Colorado and the San Luis Obispo mission, but he had been thwarted on both the outward and return journeys. From the Colorado, the padre satisfied a long-held desire to visit the Hopis in the plateau country of northeastern Arizona. For generations the Hopis had resisted Spanish overlordship, and they gave Garcés a cold, almost threatening, reception. The padre had hoped to fulfill his ambition to travel directly from California to New Mexico by a visit to Zuñi, but Hopi hostility reluctantly returned him to the Colorado.¹¹

Though Garcés failed to complete his intended journey, he nevertheless had proven the practicability, or at least the possibility, of travel between Santa Fe and the Northern California settlements. In California, he had reached a point only a few days' easy march from San Luis Obispo and Monterey. He had personally traveled from the California Central Valley all the way to Oraibi, the principal town of the Hopis. Spaniards had visited Oraibi from Zuñi, and Spanish movement between Zuñi and Santa Fe was commonplace.

Also in 1776, two New Mexico Franciscans tried to locate a northern route directly from Santa Fe to Monterey in California. Though the official head of the expedition was Father Atanasio Domínguez, the Superior of the New Mexico Franciscans, it appears that Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, the missionary at Zuñi, was instrumental in the genesis of the project.¹² At least it was Escalante who kept the journal of the expedition, and, whether justified or not, he is the diarist that history usually remembers.

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition failed to find a trail to California. The party traveled from Santa Fe into western Colorado, then into Utah. At a camp in western Utah, Esca-

*Rough terrain forced General Kearny's
advance column of the Army of the West,
en route to California in the opening months
of the war with Mexico, to abandon
its wagons soon after leaving the
Rio Grande in New Mexico.*

lante and Domínguez decided to give up and return to New Mexico. It was early October, the weather had turned colder, and they already had experienced a heavy snowfall. The mountains all around them were covered with snow, and they had failed to find a pass through the rugged San Francisco Mountains, a route which Escalante thought the best to Monterey. A number of the expedition's members nevertheless disagreed with their leaders' decision and wished to continue toward California.

At this point, the party might yet have earned the distinction of being the first to reach California by a direct route from New Mexico. Or it might have earned the questionable honor of being the first party of white people to die in the snows of the Sierra Nevada. To decide the issue, the two sides agreed to "inquire anew the will of God" by casting lots. The dissenters, noted Escalante, "with fervent devotion . . . said the third part of the Rosary and other petitions, while we said the penitential Psalms, and the litanies and other prayers which follow them."¹³ That done, the lots were cast, and the leaders won the toss. Escalante thanked God, the dissenters accepted the result, and the expedition returned to New Mexico.

For the remainder of the period of Spanish sovereignty in Mexico, no further advance was made in development of the trails to California. Two mission-pueblos were established on the Colorado River among the Yuma Indians, the purpose being both to minister to the Indians and to strengthen Spain's hold on this strategic point on the overland trail. Though the Yumas had long asked for missionaries to live among them, they had not asked for Spanish settlers or soldiers. They soon became exasperated at the offenses of the latter and revolted in 1781. In three days, the Spanish presence on the Colorado vanished, and the Sonora-California road was closed.

Though Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages the same year led a somewhat successful punitive expedition against the Yumas, it had no effect on re-opening the trail. Fages passed through Yuma lands again in 1782 en route to California to deliver messages to the governor, but he made no attempt to re-establish Spain's hold on the region.¹⁴

At the opening of the nineteenth century, Spanish control in the upper frontier was approaching an end. The Colorado-Gila region by this time had been abandoned. New Mexico

continued to exist, but while the Mexican war for independence raged intermittently in the south, it existed more as an autonomous region than as a province of New Spain. As the Spanish military presence in the north declined, Indian depredations increased, and the towns of New Mexico became islands from which settlers rarely ventured far. For about 275 years, Spanish explorers had trekked the upper frontier; by the second decade of the nineteenth century, few of their trails were visible or safe.

Following the successful revolution against Spanish rule and the establishment of the Mexican state in 1821, attention was directed once again to the northern frontier regions. The security of California was seen as the most urgent problem. Russia increasingly appeared to pose a threat to California, and trappers of the English Hudson's Bay Company pushed southward ever deeper into Mexico territory. When it was decided that California's future as a Mexican possession required strengthened presence there, the immediate opening of an overland route between California and Mexico became necessary.¹⁵

The first concrete step in re-establishing a California-Sonora road was motivated by a need for a mail route. In 1823, Father Felix Caballero traveled from his missions in Baja California to Sonora via the region near the mouth of the Colorado and the Gila River. The same year, Caballero and Captain José Romero, commandant of the Tucson presidio, returned to Baja California over roughly the same route, but not before being robbed by the Indians near the mouth of the Colorado. Predictably, Romero thought little of that route. His later investigations into the feasibility of a trail that would pass through San Bernardino and San Gorgonio Pass and strike the Colorado north of the junction with the Gila were no more encouraging.

When Romero returned to Sonora in late 1825, Romualdo Pacheco, an engineer, accompanied the expedition as far as the Colorado River, then marched back to the coast by way of the southern, or Yuma, route. This last, the San Diego-Yuma route via Warner's Pass, eventually was recognized as the official California segment of the California-Sonora road. Although the route was dangerous, it did in fact become a road of sorts as private persons began to use it in traveling from Sonora.¹⁶

While the California-Sonora trail was becoming a road,



the elusive direct route to the north from New Mexico to California again was sought. Where Garcés and the Escalante-Domínguez party had pioneered paths, Antonio Armijo's journey from New Mexico to California in 1829-1830 on a trail that lay north of the Grand Canyon was the first significant step in the development of the route that later became known as the Old Spanish Trail.¹⁷ A larger portion of the credit for opening the trail must go to William Wolfskill, the American mountain man who led an expedition that included George C. Yount from New Mexico via the Great Basin to California in 1830-1831;¹⁸ the trail followed Wolfskill's route more closely than that of Armijo.

The Old Spanish Trail was more of a "central route" than a southern one, but until the opening of shorter routes from New Mexico to California in the early stages of the war between Mexico and the United States, the trail, used more for trade than emigration, was the most heavily traveled route between the two provinces. Its principal virtue was that it lay north of hostile Indian territory. But travel over the trail was slow, and it would lose out after 1848 to the more southerly routes because gold-seekers were willing to brave both deserts and hostile Indians to speed their journeys to California.

The remaining variations of the southern route to California were established by Americans. American mountain

men who came to northern Mexico after the new republic opened its borders in 1821 spread throughout New Mexico, trapping and becoming familiar with virtually every stream.¹⁹ Most of their expeditions were round-trips from Santa Fe or Taos. In the fall of 1826, two parties from Santa Fe including such notables as James Ohio Pattie, Ewing Young, George C. Yount, Michel Robidoux, Milton Sublette, and Thomas "Peg-leg" Smith traveled to the Gila River by way of the Santa Rita copper mines in southwestern New Mexico. Eventually merging, the combined party worked down the Gila to its confluence with the Colorado to become the first Americans to do so. Then they turned north and eventually returned to Santa Fe.²⁰

Some expeditions traveled all the way to California. The first group of trappers to reach California from New Mexico was led by Richard Campbell in 1827. Unfortunately, the party's route is not known.²¹ The same year, another expedition reached the Gila River via the Santa Rita mines. The Americans trapped down the Gila; then, upon reaching the Colorado, they split into two groups. One party, under George C. Yount, returned to New Mexico. The other, including James O. Pattie and his father, Sylvester, eventually reached California in 1828 after a near-fatal walk through the desert of northern Baja California.²²

The next year, 1829, Ewing Young led a party of some forty trappers from Taos, bound for the Colorado. Kit Carson was a member of the group. At the headwaters of the Rio Verde in northern Arizona, Young divided his party. One group returned to Taos. The other, led by Young and including Carson, headed toward California. They traveled south of the Grand Canyon, crossed the Colorado, then probably followed the dry bed of the Mojave River and crossed the mountains at Cajón Pass to arrive at San Gabriel mission in early 1830. Later, Young returned to New Mexico via the Gila River and the Santa Rita mines, arriving there in early 1831.²³

Other California-bound expeditions were in the field during Young's journey. It seems that a party including Peg-leg Smith from the Great Basin arrived in Los Angeles early in 1830. The expeditions of Antonio Armijo and William Wolf-skill, both of which were important in establishing the Old Spanish Trail, were also out at this time.

The partnership of David E. Jackson, David Waldo, and Ewing Young sent two expeditions to California in 1831. The first, a mule-buying venture under Jackson and including J. J. Warner, traveled via the copper mines to the abandoned mission of San Xavier del Bac and the presidio of Tucson, thence to the Gila at the Pima villages, and down that stream to the Colorado.²⁴ Crossing the Colorado just below the mouth of the Gila, the party traversed the desert and passed San Luis Rey mission on the road to San Diego. If, as it seems, they passed through the San José Valley, Warner got his first glimpse of the valley where he would later build his ranch, a mountain oasis on the trail between the Colorado and the ocean.

Meanwhile, the partnership's second expedition got underway in October, 1831. Under Ewing Young, the party of around thirty-seven men included Moses Carson (Kit's brother), Benjamin Day, Isaac Williams of Rancho del Chino fame, Sidney Cooper, and Job F. Dye.²⁵ Traveling a different route from that of the first group, Young led his party to Zuñi, thence to the Salt River, the Gila, and the Colorado. There, for some unexplained reason, all of the expedition's members except thirteen under Young decided to return to New Mexico. Young led the smaller group into Los Angeles in March, 1832. Later that year, Jackson returned to New Mexico with a herd of mules and horses while Young remained in California, eventually to settle in Oregon.

The last significant expedition traveling from New Mexico to California before the opening of the Mexican War left Santa Fe in 1841. A group of Americans, including Benjamin David Wilson, John Rowland, and William Workman, had decided that it was no longer safe for them to remain in New Mexico. Governor Manuel Armijo, it seems, was trying to implicate certain Americans residing in Santa Fe with the unsuccessful conquest of New Mexico attempted by an expedition of Texans. Little is known of the route taken by the Americans on their journey to California, only that they arrived in Los Angeles in November, 1841.²⁶ Wilson and his companions narrowly missed the distinction of being the first party of American emigrants to enter California by an overland route. Just days before, in October, the Bartleson-Bidwell party had arrived over the more northerly California Trail.

The United States army expeditions across New Mexico to California in the opening stages of the Mexican War are better known than the earlier journeys of Americans through the Southwest. After the bloodless subjugation of New Mexico, General Stephen Watts Kearny led an advance column of the Army of the West toward California to take part in the conquest of that long-coveted province.²⁷ Departing Santa Fe in September, 1846, the column marched down the Rio Grande, turning west to pass the copper mines, thence to the Gila, down the Gila, and across the Colorado about ten miles below the junction of the two rivers. The army, in some distress by this time, crossed the desert, passed Warner's Ranch, and finally reached San Diego in December, 1846, but not before being battered by the Californians at San Pascual.

Kearny had hoped to open a wagon road between New Mexico and California and had begun his march with wagons. When he was forced to abandon them shortly after leaving the Rio Grande, he assigned that task to Lieutenant-Colonel Philip St. George Cooke.

Cooke commanded the Mormon Battalion, a unit of the Army of the West, which was scheduled to follow Kearny's force. Cooke's Mormon volunteers marched out of Santa Fe in October, 1846. Though Kearny had ordered him to follow the advance column's trail, Cooke was forced to leave the general's route at the point where Kearny had left the Rio Grande. Determined to take the wagons through, Cooke and the Mormon Battalion pioneered a road into southwestern New Mexico near the copper mines and across the conti-



mental divide in the vicinity of Guadalupe Pass. Striking the San Pedro River, the battalion turned northward along its course, left it to march westward to Tucson, thence northward again to the Gila. From that point, Cooke followed Kearny's trail to San Diego, arriving there in late January, 1847.²⁸

Neither Kearny nor Cooke had plunged blindly into unknown southwestern wilds. General Kearny had recognized early in his plans for the conquest that American trappers could make an invaluable contribution to the struggle. Among a number of mountain men, some unnamed, who accompanied Kearny's force as guides and interpreters were Kit Carson, Thomas "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, and Antoine Robidoux. Guiding the Mormon Battalion were Antoine Leroux, Pauline (Powell) Weaver, and Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Most had trapped New Mexico streams.

Cooke's route was shortly improved. In 1848, following the end of the war with Mexico, Major Lawrence P. Graham led a battalion of United States Army dragoons from Chihuahua to California. Marching through Janos, Graham struck Cooke's road. Beyond the continental divide, however, Graham left Cooke's route at the San Pedro River and continued westward to the Santa Cruz River before turning north to rejoin Cooke's road to Tucson.²⁹ In later years,

argonauts and emigrants arrived at Janos from many directions, but most of them then followed Graham's route to California, that is, Cooke's road as modified by Graham's detour to the Santa Cruz River.

Cooke and Graham may share the credit for establishing the route, but it is worth noting that Father Garcés thought of it first. Graham's trail all the way from Chihuahua to the Colorado is precisely the route suggested by Garcés in 1777 for the purpose of supplying proposed missions on the Gila and Colorado Rivers.³⁰

This story of the origins of the southern route is grossly incomplete without consideration of the role played by Indians in the discovery and pathfinding. Historians long ago stopped writing that Spanish, Mexican or American explorers were "first to see . . ." or "first to cross . . .," thereby acknowledging that a great number of Indians had seen first and crossed first. But because of the absence of written records, Indians have received little or no credit for feats of exploration or discovery.

Most white explorers in what is now the United States Southwest were not pathfinders. Ample evidence indicates that Indians traded rather extensively between New Mexico, the interior of Mexico, and California long before the appearance of Europeans in Mexico. Spaniards, Mexicans, and Americans who ventured into these lands almost always

found local Indians who were willing to point out trails that they knew and traveled often.

Most white explorers in the Southwest depended upon Indian guides. When they did not, their diaries show that they often got lost. Garcés, for example, one of the ablest of explorers, was a master at finding guides who would escort him through their own lands. On at least one occasion, when his native guides refused to go in a direction in which he insisted, Garcés relented and followed them along a path they knew. On two other occasions, when he refused to follow the advice of his guides, he got lost.³¹ Even mountain men sometimes found it expedient to employ Indian guides.

While the stories of attacks by Apaches on travelers in 1849 and after are well known, the literature of the Southwest also is full of evidence of friendly contacts between whites and Indians. From Kino through Cooke, the Pimas in their villages along the Gila River welcomed white explorers. Garcés and his Mojave companions of the trail grieved at their last parting. Kino, Garcés, and Anza alike were impressed with the eagerness of the Yumas to associate with the Spanish. Surely no other people in history have ever sought so earnestly to adopt an alien culture as the Yumas sought to place themselves under the sovereignty of the Spanish crown and Church. The Yumas were not the only Indian people so inclined. Most tribes in the Pimería Alta sought to enter the Spanish fold in some fashion.

Even the Apaches, scourge of the Spaniards and Mexicans, were largely friendly to Americans in earliest contacts. Mountain men found that Apaches hated and preyed upon Mexicans but had respect, if not admiration, for Americans. Kearny and Cooke also benefitted from this sentiment. They employed Apache guides and traded with them for mules and provisions. Cordiality vanished, however, when the United States declared its sovereignty over Apachería and tried to manage the Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico.

The development of the southern route to California—as if all had been in anticipation of the gold discovery in 1848—extended over a period of over 150 years, if its origins are traced back only as far as Kino's day. Spanish use of the trail was never heavy. The population of New Spain's northern provinces was too sparse, the financial support by the crown too uncertain, and the Indian problems too complex. Though the Mexicans re-opened the Sonora-California trail that had

been closed at the end of the Spanish era, traffic was never extensive until the discovery of gold. Sonorans were among the earliest arrivals at the California mines. The Old Spanish Trail between New Mexico and California, on the other hand, was regularly used, primarily for commerce, until it lost out to the more southerly trails. In the exodus to California after 1848, the most heavily-traveled branch of the southern route was Cooke's wagon road, including Graham's detour.

Transportation improved rapidly in the Southwest as the rush to California accelerated and the newly-acquired southwestern region began to attract American settlers. Cooke's route was improved, and new roads were opened. Stagecoach travel was inaugurated, and railroads soon entered the Southwest. A line spanning the region finally brought the long haul by wagon over the old trails to an end. But the centuries-old lure of California remained, and travel over the southern route continued to expand.

Kino's map on page 152 is reproduced from Ernest J. Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of New Spain* (1965), facing p. 45. The photograph on page 159 is from Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* (1848), facing page 55; on pages 154 (bottom) and 151, from John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative . . .* (1854), vol. II, facing pages 248 and 156; and on page 157, from Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). The photograph on page 153 is from the CHS Library; the map on page 154 is designed by Harlean Richardson.

Notes

1. The most valuable account of Kino's experiences is his own record, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, trans. and ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton (2 vols.; Berkeley, 1948). Also useful is Bolton's classic, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York, 1936).
2. Kino, *Historical Memoir*, I: 230-1.
3. *Ibid.*, I: 323, 358; II: 258-59.
4. Eusebio Francisco Kino, *Kino's Plan for the Development of Pimería Alta, Arizona and Upper California*, trans. and annotated by Ernest J. Burrus (Tucson, 1961), pp. 28-29.
5. Two sources on Garcés were particularly useful for this study: Garcés's diaries in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (5 vols.; Berkeley, 1930), II; Francisco Tomás Garcés, *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776*, ed. by John Galvin (San Francisco, 1967). An earlier and still helpful work is Francisco Tomás Garcés, *On the Trail of a*

- Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, ed. by Elliott Coues (2 vols.; New York, 1900).
6. Herbert Eugene Bolton, "The Early Explorations of Father Garcés on the Pacific Slope," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, ed. by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert Eugene Bolton (New York, 1917), pp. 321-28.
7. The two Anza expeditions which followed were well-documented. Diaries of Anza, Garcés, Díaz, Palou, Font, Eixarch and Moraga, all principals in the marches, are included in Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*.
8. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, I: 58-60.
9. *Ibid.*, I: 65-66.
10. Father Tomás Eixarch, who had accompanied Anza and Garcés from Tubac, remained in the Yuma villages while Garcés explored. Eixarch's diary is in Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, III.
11. See Galvin, *Record of Travels*, for Garcés' personal journal of his expedition in 1776.
12. The most complete account to date of the expedition is in Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, *Pageant in the Wilderness*, trans. and annotated by Herbert Eugene Bolton (Salt Lake City, 1960).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
14. For Fages' own narration of the expeditions, see Pedro Fages, "The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-1782; The Diary of Pedro Fages," ed. by Herbert Ingram Priestley, *Academy of Pacific Coast History*, III (May, 1913): 133-233.
15. The background of this decision is covered in the introductory comments of Lowell John Bean and William Marvin Mason, eds., *Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California, 1823-1826* (Palm Springs, California, 1962), and George William Beattie, "Reopening the Anza Road," *Pacific Historical Review*, II (March, 1933): 52-57.
16. Beattie, "Reopening the Anza Road," p. 67-69.
17. The story of this first link between the two Mexican provinces is told in LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fé to Los Angeles*, The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820-1875, Vol. I (Glendale, California, 1954). Armijo's personal account of the journey is in Antonio Armijo, "Armijo's New Mexico-California Diary, 1829-1830," in *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail*, Overland to the Pacific Series, II, ed. by Archer Butler Hulbert (Denver, 1933).
18. The recorder of the Wolfskill expedition was George C. Yount. See Charles L. Camp, "The Chronicles of George C. Yount," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, II (April, 1923): 3-66.
19. The most valuable source on American fur trappers in what was then northern Mexico is David J. Weber, *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846* (Norman, 1971).
20. First-hand accounts of the expedition are in Camp, "George C. Yount," and James Ohio Pattie, *Pattie's Personal Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and in Mexico: June 20, 1824-August 30, 1830*, ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 Series, XVIII (Cleveland, 1905).
21. There was no known diarist on the expedition. What is known and assumed about the expedition are in Alice B. Maloney, "The Richard Campbell Party of 1827," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII (December, 1939): 347-54.
22. Pattie and Yount differed often in their journals of the expedition. Their accounts are in Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, and Camp, "George C. Yount."
23. The story of the expedition is told in Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life*, ed. by Blanche C. Grant (Taos, 1926). A useful secondary account is Joseph J. Hill, "Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-1834," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIV (March, 1923): 1-35.
24. Warner later recorded his impressions of the journey. See J. J. Warner, "Reminiscences of Early California from 1831 to 1846," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California*, vol. VII, parts II-III (1907-1908), pp. 176-93.
25. Dye's personal account of the expedition is in Job Francis Dye, *Recollections of a Pioneer, 1830-1852: Rocky Mountains, New Mexico, California* (Los Angeles, 1951).
26. Glimpses of the trek are in Benjamin David Wilson, "Benjamin David Wilson's Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico," Foreword by Arthur Woodward, *Historical Society of Southern California Annual*, XVI (1934): 74-150.
27. There were a number of diarists on the march. See, for example: William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance . . .*, H. R. Doc. No. 41, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. (1848); Henry Smith Turner, *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner; With Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California 1846-1847*, ed. by Dwight L. Clarke (Norman, 1966).
28. Cooke's daily record of the trek is in Philip St. George Cooke, "Cooke's Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-1847," *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, ed. by Ralph P. Bieber in collaboration with Averam B. Bender (Glendale, 1938). A somewhat different view is provided by Mormon diarists, such as: Henry W. Bigler, "Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," ed. by Adelbert Bigler, *Utah Historical Quarterly*, V (April, 1932): 35-64; Robert S. Bliss, "The Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, IV (July, 1931): 67-96.
29. A first-hand account of Graham's march is in Cave Johnson Coutts, *Hepah California! The Journal of Cave Johnson Coutts from Monterey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico to Los Angeles, California, During the Years 1848-1849*, ed. by Henry F. Dobyns (Tucson, 1961).
30. See Garcés, *Record of Travels*, p. 99.
31. Bolton, "Early Explorations of Father Garcés," pp. 325-26; Garcés, *Record of Travels*, p. 37.

“Penny Papers”

the Vanderbilt newspaper crusade

At the corner of Pico Boulevard and Los Angeles Street in the garment district of Los Angeles sits a squat, slightly shabby, three-story building. Today the plant is a clothing factory, but fifty years ago the building housed the largest newspaper in the western United States; it was the headquarters for the *Los Angeles Illustrated Daily News*.

The *Daily News* had been consciously created to counteract the growing salaciousness of the tabloid craze sweeping the East. This western paper was a tabloid, too, but it was different; it was the flagship of a newspaper chain which championed the virtues of good, wholesome news and pictures in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Miami. Founded in 1923, within four years it had faltered and severely limited its operations.

Leading this crusade for honest journalism was none other than Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., the great-grandson of the eastern railroad builder. Vanderbilt was twenty-five years old and anxious to break out of the mold of New York high-society and become “The Great Commoner,” as one critic sneered. Detesting the life of the idle rich, he pointedly earned his own living. He served as a private in the United States Army in World War I while his father was a brigadier general in the reserves. After the Armistice, he became a reporter, first with the *New York Herald*, then with the *New York Times*, and later with United Press. Early in 1923 he founded his own news and feature service.¹

But Vanderbilt longed to move to the West Coast, which he had visited many times. “The Pacific Coast,” he predicted in 1924, “will be to the coming generation what the Atlantic Coast has been to generations in the past. . . .”² A family friend, Lord Northcliffe, the founder of the *Daily Mail* of London, encouraged the budding young journalist. Although Northcliffe’s own papers were racy tabloids, he suggested a more serious approach for the American West, perhaps a chain of clean tabloids.

Vanderbilt liked the idea. He decided to put together a morning tabloid in Los Angeles, which would be the first in a chain of picture newspapers. Los Angeles, he knew, was the fastest-growing metropolis in the country; it was alive and dynamic. But it was also a closed city, closed to trade unions,

dissenting beliefs, immigrants. Vanderbilt vowed to fight the vested interests in what he considered the most tightly controlled city in the United States.

A man of action, Vanderbilt flooded Los Angeles with circulars in June, 1923, announcing that his paper would be called the *Illustrated Daily News*. Its first issue would appear in August (later changed to September). In editorial policy the *News* would shun news of crime, sex, and scandal and would feature bright photographs and concise news stories. Competing with Vanderbilt’s paper in Los Angeles would be the *Times* and *Examiner* in the morning and the *Express*, *Herald*, and *Record* in the evening.

Introduced during the real estate boom of the 1920’s, Vanderbilt’s *News* was capitalized at \$100,000. In characteristic style, high-pressure stock promoters helped sell 6,000 shares in the company in the first month, as investors, prompted by free lunches and ballyhoo, trailed through the paper’s plant (formerly an automobile showroom and garage). Although Vanderbilt kept a majority interest in the paper, each person who bought a one-year subscription also received one share of stock worth five dollars and became eligible to vote for two of the five members of the board of directors. Vanderbilt insisted on democracy in the board room.³

Vanderbilt also insisted on giving organized labor a chance in his plant in the largely non-union city. (In the 1920’s only a few unions had more than a toehold in Los Angeles’ labor market.) He contracted with organized labor to refurbish his plant and then made the production departments of the *News* a union shop. One labor writer heralded Vanderbilt’s announcement as “the big story of the week”; another reported: “Everyone is talking about the status of the *Illustrated Daily News*.”⁴

Moving ahead, Vanderbilt installed two thirty-two-page presses (tabloid-page capacity) and seven linecasting machines to set type. (He bought a third press when circulation passed even his rosy expectations.) Seasoned newspaper workers marveled at his modern photoengraving, platemaking, ventilating, and lighting systems. To start, the *News* hired six photoengravers, seven pressmen, four stereotypers, four mailers (paper bundlers), and thirty typesetters.⁵

Despite the rampant inflation of the early twenties, starting a newspaper in Los Angeles cost little. Skilled printers received only \$1.01 an hour in 1923 (for a forty-eight hour

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week), and even by 1926, their hourly wage had risen to only \$1.14. Newsprint sold at \$82.50 a ton at Pacific Coast ports in 1923; by 1926 the price dropped to \$70 a ton. Although cub reporters might grumble at the \$35 they received for a sixty-hour week, experienced newsmen earned the reasonable salary of between \$75 and \$150 for a six-day week. For the first time in Los Angeles, Vanderbilt offered them, along with printing tradesmen, two-week paid vacations.⁶

Vanderbilt's rivals detested this upstart. Harry Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, flatly warned the young man not to start another paper. William Randolph Hearst, who published the *Examiner*, first ignored Vanderbilt's plans and then tried to hire him as the figurehead of a sensational tabloid he planned to publish in New York City. When Vanderbilt, in turn, ignored them, they struck back. No Los Angeles company would rent him billboard space. Only one transportation company would display his advertising cards on its trolleys and buses, and only a few dry-cleaning plants agreed to put his signs in their windows.

But Vanderbilt was resourceful. With money coming in from stock sales, he hired fifteen airplanes equipped with megaphones which urged residents to subscribe to his new "Penny Paper," as he fondly called the *News*. One morning Angelenos witnessed a regiment of bathing beauties parading through the streets and forming slogans such as "See Yourself in Pictures" with their graceful bodies. To drive his message home, Vanderbilt hired 150 boys to paint messages publicizing the *News* on the sidewalks and walls of hotels, banks, and apartment buildings. Angry landlords spent weeks removing the paint, but by this time Vanderbilt's orange-colored paper stands dotted the corners of Los Angeles, Pasadena, Long Beach, and Beverly Hills. He also bought off some downtown newspaper dealers with guarantees of sales up to \$700 a week.

Everything was ready by Sunday, September 2, 1923. The presses had been installed just a few hours earlier, and Vanderbilt invited several friends from the motion-picture community, including Douglas Fairbanks, Sr., and Mary Pickford, to witness the first run. Ministers announced to their congregations the coming arrival of the new daily. Thousands of the faithful, led by pastors and labor leaders, toured the building. With complete news of the Tokyo-earthquake of September 1, in which 140,000 people were killed, the *Illus-*

trated Daily News went to press shortly after 9:00 P.M. The issue was dated September 3, a special date. It was both Labor Day and the birthday of Vanderbilt's mother. Labor no doubt appreciated the gesture (and the premium weekend pay), but Vanderbilt's mother did not. She and her husband had been attacked by the Hearst press in the 1890's, and they considered all newspapers scandal-mongers. She ordered the copies of the first issue returned to their sender.⁷

Vanderbilt had expected an initial circulation of 60,000 copies. Instead, the *News* sold 130,000 copies the first day. A fire in Berkeley and a series of destroyer collisions near Santa Barbara provided more news excitement, which brought circulation up to 280,000 copies in a few weeks—it was official—and sales passed the region's leaders, the *Denver Post* on weekdays and Hearst's *Chicago Examiner* on Sundays.

Advertising revenue, however, was a disappointment. It had filled the *News* at first, but as Vanderbilt tore into the business establishment, the thirty-two-page issues dwindled to twenty-four and twenty within a few months. For the next three years, the *News* lived off the meager diet of ads for motion pictures, chicken and rabbit ranches, and oil stocks.⁸

Despite its large circulation, too, the *News* remained a modest operation, and the staff probably never exceeded fifty men and women. In the beginning the *News* employed only ten photographers, ten artists, and fourteen reporters. Two copyeditor-reporters put out a country edition at 9:00 P.M., a home edition at midnight, and a street edition at 3:00 A.M. On election nights or whenever the staff scooped its rivals, Vanderbilt would bring in catered coffee, pies, sandwiches, and fried chicken. A generous employer, he was also the hardest-working newsman on the staff, as even his enemies had to concede.⁹

Buoyed by his own enthusiasm, Vanderbilt soon carried his crusading spirit and union sympathies to San Francisco, where he established his second tabloid, the *Illustrated Daily Herald*. The first issue appeared on December 10, 1923. Like his *News* in Los Angeles, the *San Francisco Herald* competed against two morning papers and three evening dailies. Again, Vanderbilt announced the first issue with a publicity extravaganza.

The San Francisco *Labor Clarion* reported with awe the events of the evening:

... Early in the evening a gorgeous fireworks display on the lot

opposite the *Herald's* new home on Twelfth Street announced to San Francisco that the new paper was in operation. A parade, participated in by Mayor [James] Rolph and other city officials, as well as business interests, toured the business streets of the city and returned to the *Herald* office where they were accorded a welcome and inspected the plant from cellar to garret. A battery of searchlights played on the front of the new building and moving pictures were shown on a screen from the *Herald* office. . . .¹⁰

Vanderbilt's optimism increased. Although he proposed dailies in Seattle and Detroit which never materialized, his *Illustrated Daily Tab* hit the stands in Miami, Florida, on January, 1925, timed to cash in on the real estate bubble enjoyed in that vacation-retirement land.

For two years Vanderbilt's chain enjoyed a remarkable growth. Advertising revenue was poor, but circulation remained strong. At its peak the chain employed 5,500 part-time newsboys and 1,600 others full-time. Circulation in Los Angeles leveled off at 133,000 by the end of 1923 and rose to 179,000 in 1924. Then, a Sunday edition of the *News* was introduced in Los Angeles in February, 1924, and its circulation boomed. In 1925, however, the paper's circulation dropped to 106,000 and only 91,000 in 1926. The pattern was repeated in San Francisco and Miami. For a brief time, though, the *News* had passed Hearst's *Herald* on weekdays and Chandler's *Times* on Sunday to become the city's largest daily.¹¹

Who read the *News*? Vanderbilt never made detailed circulation studies, but sketchy information indicates that the *News* appealed especially to members of the Hollywood community, political liberals, some residents of the Black and Mexican-American ghettos, and many lower-middle class storekeepers, shop-girls, and factory workers.

The paper's advertising volume reflected this readership. The *News* never published more than 4,280,000 lines of advertising (in 1924), and this figure dropped to 2,900,000 lines in 1926. (A line is 1/14 of an inch.) The *Examiner*, by comparison, was consistently carrying twenty-three million lines of advertising a year.¹²

Confronted by the realities of low advertising revenue, Vanderbilt appraised the situation. His *San Francisco Herald* was starving, but his *Tab* was still reaping the fruits of the Florida land boom. Vanderbilt moved to kill his San Francisco paper, but his stockholders outvoted him, and he had no choice but to muddle along as best he could. He retained the

chain's crusading editorial spirit, but he decided to permit 150-word summaries of sensational news to boost interest.

Undeniably, in one sense the chain's papers were dull. Typical news stories featured children selling lemonade and mugging for the camera. Eleanor Barnes, one of the star feature writers on the *Los Angeles News*, for example, interviewed several men laying a concrete floor for a gasoline station, who argued about whether the north-south stroke was better than the east-west stroke. Vanderbilt was so taken with the story and accompanying photographs that he informed the city desk: "Due to the excellence of the art, this issue is especially deserving of praise."¹³

While Vanderbilt's news policies may have bored his readers, his editorials out-and-out enraged many advertisers. In San Francisco the *Herald* openly attacked the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Bank of Italy (later the Bank of America), and several leading industrialists. Vanderbilt's pet peeves in Los Angeles included such sacred cows as the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Community Chest, the city's crime commission (headed by Harry Chandler of the *Times*), plans for a major sports stadium, and the Pacific Electric Railway.¹⁴

Typical of Vanderbilt's crusades was his relentless attack against the Pacific Electric Railway. He considered its speeding red cars menaces to motorists and pedestrians and frequently referred to them as the "red reapers." One item, taken from the *News* of April 28, 1925, pointedly reported:

Negligence on the part of a Pacific Electric motorman caused the death of Ignatz Balint, sole support of a widow and three small children. . . . Balint was fatally injured Friday afternoon when his automobile was mowed down by a red reaper. . . . He was the 21st victim of speeding electric cars since January 1.

Other Vanderbilt editorials were lofty and unfathomably remote. As the returns were coming in from the 1924 presidential election, most dailies appropriately commented on Coolidge's victory. But not Vanderbilt. On November 5, 1924, he wrote:

While waiting with bated breath the final returns of the elections, it is not inappropriate to mention the latest convenience for modern services in [train] travel. . . . I refer to the new de luxe Sunset Limited, operated by the Southern Pacific railroad from San Francisco to Los Angeles. . . .

Similarly, on November 19 he regaled his readers with a

Corcoran Vanderbilt & Fisher
HOME EDITION
Volume 1, No. 1
Illustrated
Daily News
ONE CENT A COPY
THE LARGEST PAID CIRCULATION ANY NEWSPAPER EVER STARTED WITH
Thirty-two Pages
100,000 DEAD IN QUAKE



RUINED BY EARTHQUAKE—Plaza of the Tokio central railway station, where huge crowds throng constantly. Left to right, new N. Y. K. (Nippon Yusen Kaisha) building under construction; Tokio Kaifu (Marine Insurance Company), and Kogyo (Industrial) Club. Entire scene within area reported laid in ruins by earthquake and fire. Many of the finest buildings in the Japanese capital were razed by the temblor.



The first issue of the Illustrated Daily News appeared on Los Angeles newsstands on Labor Day, 1923. The issue's first page ran crudely-retouched stock photographs of Japan while staff awaited actual photos of the devastating earthquake which arrived by ship ten days later.

somewhat maudlin account of his efforts to start a paper in Detroit:

And we're off bound eastward, sorry to be leaving the land of perpetual sunshine but . . . when we come back we shall have a great deal to tell you which space will not permit from day to day in this column. So *au revoir* California for a little while at least; we shall be back with you before you have noticed that we have gone away.

Inane editorials barely masked the internal problems facing the paper. Vanderbilt, unable to meet his expenses, apparently had asked his parents for money in 1924. They agreed—but only on the condition that he place most of his authority in the hands of a family-picked manager. Vanderbilt grumbled, but he acquiesced in order to preserve the chain.

Predictably, the editorials became weaker and colorless. The first major compromise came during the 1924 presidential election. Vanderbilt favored Robert LaFollette, the Progressive Republican from Wisconsin. The family, however, favored Coolidge. Editorials and cartoons praising Coolidge as an honest, open-minded man appeared in the *News*, and almost immediately nearly 50,000 readers stopped buying the paper. An increase in the paper's price from one penny to two pennies a few days after the election exacerbated the readers' discontent.

With the family-picked manager on deck, attacks on big business also stopped, and chamber of commerce officials began writing guest columns for the paper. When the Pacific Electric Railway threatened to cancel its advertising if any more "red reaper" articles appeared, Vanderbilt gave in. Instead, he began writing more accounts of his travels and business trips. Theater owners, too, began foisting puffery on the *News*, and one owner threatened to withdraw his advertising if unfavorable reviews appeared.

Compromises came on other issues. In 1924, for example, when ranchers illegally opened the sluice gates of the aqueduct that Los Angeles had built from the Owens Valley, the *Record* called for fairer treatment for the men, the *Examiner* demanded their punishment, and the *Times* urged that a board be established to mediate the dispute. Vanderbilt's *News* published straightforward news items on the event but now offered no editorial comment. The influence of the family was clear.

Despite this erosion of power, Vanderbilt retained some influence on his paper and in Los Angeles itself through 1925.

As his former night editor recalled long after, Vanderbilt had "held the political destinies of the city in the hollow of his hand, and there are many things in Los Angeles that for a considerable time will be different from what they would have been had there been no Cornelius Vanderbilt."¹⁵

Vanderbilt's last hurrah came in the mayoralty election of May, 1925. George Cryer had been mayor since 1921, and he was seeking re-election. Though not especially distinguished, he was honest. An old-guard Republican, he had received the support of Chandler's *Times* in 1921. Opposing Cryer was Benjamin Bledsoe, who had been a judge in the United States District Court in Los Angeles since 1914. Bledsoe was a Democrat.

Political sympathies had changed during Cryer's term. He had proposed a crime-prevention program that differed greatly from Harry Chandler's, and he was somewhat sympathetic to organized labor. Bledsoe, on the other hand, hated Bolsheviks and labor organizers. During World War I he had sentenced many of them under sedition and criminal syndicalism acts.

Newspaper sympathies had changed, too. The *Times* found that Bledsoe was not really a bad official. In fact, the *Times* learned, he enjoyed a "record remarkable for vigorous honesty, fearlessness, and worthwhile public service." Cryer, the *Times* discovered on May 2, 1925, was "colorless, ineffective, vacillating." The *Express*, slipping rapidly from its Progressive pedestal, also endorsed Bledsoe. While the Hearst press apparently never found the election at all and straddled the issue, the small-circulation, liberal *Record* called Harry Chandler "extremely bad company" for the judge and stood by the *News*. Its influence, however, was negligible.

Vanderbilt brought the full force of his own skinny daily behind Cryer. Three or four stories a day praised him and panned the *Times* and *Express*. Vanderbilt maintained that the mayor's "honesty was never questioned" and that Cryer "could not be dictated to by any clique or individual. . . ." Bledsoe's conduct as a judge, however, was "that of a bigot and fanatic," Vanderbilt claimed. "He would be the worst calamity that could befall Los Angeles."

Vanderbilt's candidate, Cryer, won the election that night. He received 75,000 votes to Bledsoe's 59,000, and a third candidate received only 8,600 votes.¹⁶ This was the last victory for the *News*.

Problems could be ignored no longer. The staff was aware



In 1924 the youthful Vanderbilt (holding citation) was greeted by San Francisco dignitaries including Mayor Jim Rolph, Jr. (at Vanderbilt's right).

of difficulties by late 1925, and Vanderbilt, too, was in poor health. Seriously gassed in World War I, he had never quite recovered and was in and out of hospitals dozens of times.

Again Vanderbilt was forced to ask his parents for help. Again they "helped" him by imposing even more control over his editorial and business operations. As Vanderbilt said in a telegram to Douglas Churchill, his right-hand man, in the summer of 1925: "You are fully empowered as vice-president and direct representative of me as well as member executive committee to act in any way you deem necessary in case a serious situation should arise. You will act in San Francisco and Miami as well. Institutions cannot be sold without vote of directorate. Shock troops will be rushed to you at once."¹⁷

Despite this dispersal of power, the chain began once again to operate more successfully. Vanderbilt even seemed to like one family-appointed manager, Harvey Johnson, who sympathized with Vanderbilt more than his family. The staff remained at forty-four men and women in the news, art, and photographic departments, although employees who quit were not replaced. This hiring freeze was realistic, for in October, 1925, the advertising revenues of the *News* were only \$22,141, and running the ad department took up half its revenue. Greater efficiency was needed—and so was greater circulation.¹⁸

The man responsible for briefly revitalizing the chain was Lester Adams. Adams had worked on papers in Oregon, San

Francisco, and Sacramento and had joined the chain in 1924. The Los Angeles and San Francisco papers, he wrote to Johnson and another company official, needed more liveliness: "Most important, in producing news, is the continual stimulating of the proper spirit. Those who survive our test must believe sincerely, not in a negative cleanliness, but in a very positive and constructive policy of clean journalism. . . ."¹⁹

In another letter, Adams directed his attention toward both the *San Francisco Herald* and the *Los Angeles News*. He advocated a stronger appeal to women readers, greater freedom in handling crime stories, better pictures, "snappier" editorials and headlines, and more thorough sports coverage. "In Los Angeles breathe Los Angeles in the paper, filling it with as much local news as is consistent with spot telegraphic news; in San Francisco putting stress on local news and personal chat. In Los Angeles there must be a happy medium, because of the vast number of people here with outside interests," he wrote.²⁰

Adams' encouraging plans notwithstanding, on March 26, 1926, a worried Vanderbilt reluctantly proposed to his assistant, Churchill, to (1) close all three dailies and risk criminal liability through possible stock fraud, (2) discontinue or sell the *San Francisco Herald's* machinery and building, or (3) continue the papers without him except as a figurehead and adopt a policy of yellow journalism. Such advice was timely, for several hotel and real estate developments had failed in Miami and left the *Tab* with \$600,000 in unpaid bills for

advertising. Advertisers, too, owed the *News* more than one million dollars and the *Herald* about \$300,000.²¹

Then Vanderbilt commissioned a study of the chain's finances. Several newspaper experts (including his manager, Johnson) surveyed the properties and reported that they could be made profitable again with an infusion of \$300,000. Vanderbilt asked his parents for the money.

They refused. They said his papers would have to be sold; if they could not be sold, they must be closed. Then the elder Vanderbilt had his son sign a promissory note for \$901,000 for the money they had loaned him previously. The money would be taken from Vanderbilt's inheritance when his father died. Vanderbilt bitterly signed the note.

Several futile gestures followed, and on April 28, Vanderbilt admitted defeat. At a press conference in New York, Dudley Field Malone, Vanderbilt's personal lawyer, said Vanderbilt had placed complete trust in inexperienced executives who had mismanaged the company's affairs. Puffing on a cigarette, Vanderbilt broke in to say that he was still confident in the chain; everything would work out in the end, he added.²²

By this time, however, the chain was a financial shambles. The circulation at the *News* was down to 100,000, at the *San Francisco Herald* to 80,000, and at the *Miami Tab* to 15,000. While the *News* was losing up to \$50,000 a month, newspaper experts considered it the best risk of the three. The *Tab* was still profitable, if only marginally, but the *Herald* was beyond salvation.²³

The next steps came hard. The *News* first cut its price from two cents to one cent in early May and immediately eliminated its Sunday edition. A petition for receivership was then drawn up and filed on May 3 in the United States district court in Los Angeles. The paper was placed in receivership under federal equity laws to keep creditors from closing the paper. The *News* was now out of Vanderbilt's hands. Receivers were soon selected for the papers in Miami and San Francisco, as well.²⁴

Meredith Snyder was appointed the receiver for the *News*. Snyder had been elected mayor of Los Angeles four times and was considered a good, if somewhat colorless, businessman. Snyder was ordered to publish the *News* regularly unless the paper could not be reorganized and its assets saved. The *News* now lay in limbo.

The *San Francisco Herald*, however, was ordered closed. The paper owed many employees back pay, and its supply of newsprint was nearly exhausted. The employees shrugged and took a vote. They pooled their money, put out several more issues, and that was the end. No help had come. The *Miami Tab* lived on for six more weeks before it, too, was shut down.

Receivership was a wise move. Federal bankruptcy laws in the 1920's would have forced liquidation of the *News*, but now the *News*, under regular civil laws, could be held in limbo while a new corporation was formed to take it over. After three months, the Daily News Corporation emerged as the new publisher, and under what was to be the twenty-six-year leadership of Manchester Boddy, the paper removed its taboos on crime, sex, and scandal, launched a crusade against vice as a circulation booster, and pulled itself out of the red by 1929. The *News*, one of the most colorful dailies in the West, emerged as the only daily newspaper in California's largest city that supported the Democratic party—until its cloudy demise in December, 1954.²⁵

During its short life, the Vanderbilt chain had attracted national attention. Arrayed against his tabloids were such diverse magazines as the *Nation* of New York and *Saturday Night*, a high-society weekly published in Los Angeles. They accused Vanderbilt of pandering to low-brow minds and tastes with his ballyhoo and highmindedness. On Vanderbilt's side were labor union weeklies and the *Fourth Estate*, a weekly for newspaper publishers. The *Fourth Estate* considered Vanderbilt a refreshing face in American journalism, which was already inhabited by too many cranks and cynics. Vanderbilt's idealism was free of bitterness and pettiness. Even the *Los Angeles Times* conceded that point.²⁶

The critics were right—for the wrong reasons. His appeals to the people were not low-brow, as they charged, but were instead directed at improving relations among cities and counties, at developing good schools and parks, at developing honest, efficient government, at improving the metropolitan area's rapid transit system. The other dailies gave these ideas lip service, but Vanderbilt provided leadership. That the *News* flourished for thirty-one years was proof enough of the soundness of Vanderbilt's philosophy.

The photograph on page 167 is from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. The best accounts of Vanderbilt are his own, *Farewell to Fifth Avenue* (New York, 1935) and his *Man of the World: My Life on Five Continents* (New York, 1959). Simon Michael Bessie's *Jazz Journalism: The Story of the Tabloid Newspapers* (New York, 1938) tells of the first fifteen years of the *News*.
2. Charles A. Selden, "Young Vanderbilt's Crusade Against Filth," *Ladies' Home Journal*, May, 1924, pp. 20, 124, 126-127. A serious article despite its breathless tone.
3. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., *Prospectus for the Illustrated Daily News* . . . (Los Angeles, 1923). This small brochure explains Vanderbilt's beliefs and outlines his program for his newspaper chain.
4. *Los Angeles Citizen*, June 23 and August 10, 1923.
5. *Citizen*, August 2 and 10, 1923; *News*, September 3, 1923.
6. Newsprint: Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, to author; mechanical-trades wages: *Editor & Publisher Year Book Number*, 1923 through 1927; other wages: payroll of the editorial, art, and photographic departments, October 31 through November 14, 1925, scrapbooks of Lester Adams, Ashland, Oregon; background information on working conditions: interviews with Walt Lee, cartoonist and artist, Lancaster, California; Sam Patrick, cartoonist and artist, Los Angeles; Matt Weinstock, sports reporter, Los Angeles; Eleanor Barnes Mare, reporter and drama critic, Manhattan Beach, California; Howard Langley and H. B. K. (Doc) Willis, sports writers, both Newport Beach, California; Walter Brookes, artist, North Hollywood; Ralph Wolfe, artist, Hollywood.
7. Vanderbilt, *Farewell to Fifth Avenue*, especially chapter 10.
8. *Farewell to Fifth Avenue*, chapter 10; interviews with Matt Weinstock, Sam Patrick, Eleanor Barnes Mare. As on many small morning papers, most of the staff worked in the afternoon and at night.
9. Interviews with Matt Weinstock, Sam Patrick, Eleanor Barnes Mare.
10. *San Francisco Labor Clarion*, December 14, 1923.
11. Marlen Pew, "Making Fame For Florida," *Editor & Publisher*, February 27, 1926, sec. 2, pp. viii and following. Good accounts of *Tab* and Miami papers. Circulation figures published in N. W. Ayer & Son, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1923 through 1927.
12. Advertising figures published in *Editor & Publisher*, February 28, 1925, p. 14; March 13, 1926, p. 17; March 12, 1927, p. 3.
13. Interview with Barnes.
14. William Bordman Knox, "The Collapse of the Vanderbilt Crusade," *Outlook*, May 26, 1926, pp. 135-136. Knox was night city editor of the *News*.
15. Knox, "Collapse of the Vanderbilt Crusade," 135-136; editorial and news pages of *News*, *Times*, *Record* and *Examiner*, May and November, 1924.
16. Editorial and news pages of the *News*, *Times*, *Record* and *Examiner*, May, 1925; interview with Lyndol Young, Los Angeles, July 18, 1973. Young, lawyer for the *News* in the 1926 receivership, provided much of the background to the case.
17. The telegram from Vanderbilt to Churchill is dated July 11, 1925, and is an exhibit in *Young vs. Snyder and others*, case 202468, Los Angeles County Superior Court (Los Angeles branch). The case is important mainly for the letters Young introduced as evidence.
18. The advertising cost analysis, payroll, and letters to Harvey Johnson are in the Lester Adams Scrapbooks, Ashland, Oregon.
19. Adams Scrapbooks.
20. Adams Scrapbooks. Weinstock wrote a memorandum for a later publisher, Manchester Boddy, in July, 1944. Entitled "Early Days of the *Daily News*," it described many day-to-day events of Vanderbilt's *News*. Manuscript in possession of Robert M. Boddy, Fort Bragg, California.
21. Telegram of April 26, 1926, in *Young vs. Snyder*; *New York Times*, April 29, 1926.
22. *New York Times*, April 29, 1926.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Complete press accounts of the receivership appear in the *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1926, and *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5 and 6, 1926; Young interview.
25. See Robert Rosenstone, "Manchester Boddy and the Los Angeles *Daily News*," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 49:291-307 (December, 1970).
26. Samples of editorial comment on the receivership can be found in the *Nation* (New York), May 19, 1926; *Editor & Publisher* (New York), May 8, 1926; *Saturday Night* (Los Angeles), May through July, 1926; *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1926; *Fourth Estate* (New York), July 3, 1926; and *Los Angeles Citizen* and *San Francisco Labor Clarion*, May through July, 1926. A very good analysis of the *News*'s later publisher, Manchester Boddy, can be found in Rosenstone's, "Manchester Boddy and the L. A. *Daily News*." Advice on the *News* came from W. Turrentine Jackson and C. Roland Marchand, professors of history at the University of California at Davis, and from Don Kunitz, now head of the campus's department of special collections. Kunitz grew up in Los Angeles as an avid reader of the *Daily News*.
Vanderbilt died in Miami Beach, Florida, in July, 1974. Adams died in Ashland, Oregon, in 1973.

Women's History: A Listing of West Coast Archival and Manuscript Sources—Part II

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

This issue of the *Quarterly* presents the second of a two-part article surveying major primary sources located in West Coast libraries and institutions dealing with women's lives and activities. The first part presented in the Spring 1976 *Quarterly* included the California entries from A to S (from the American Film Institute to Stanford); this issue carries entries from the California University system to W, Women's History Research Center, and two entries from Oregon, five from Washington, and two from British Columbia.

The entries are first arranged by state and then in alphabetical order. Entries list the woman's name, followed by her vital dates and profession or achievement. The material in the collection is then listed with the dates covered and the amount of material. This information is printed exactly as provided by the institutions, including the use of maiden or married names. The entries for women's organizations are interfiled with those for individual women.

The material appearing in this two-part article is the first step toward a complete California survey. It is part of a national project, the Women's History Sources Survey, presently underway at the University of Minnesota with the help of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Researchers studying the history of women in the United States from the colonial period to the present will soon have the use of this important resource guide.

Reprints of this two-part article on women's sources on the West Coast may be purchased separately or together. A special word of appreciation goes to the archivists and librarians who completed the forms used for this listing.

Dr. Wilson is professor of history at California State University, Sacramento, and author of *Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive* (1975) and "Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in *The American Revolution* (1976) edited by Alfred F. Young.

Ms. Donovan is CHS manuscript librarian and coordinator of the Women in California Collection.

Genteel ladies on an artist's outing in Pacific Grove near Monterey pursue with seriousness one of the few avenues of creative expression acceptable for women of their social class in 1890.



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Bancroft Library
Estelle Rebec, Head, Manuscripts Division
Berkeley, California 94720
(415) 642-3781

Atherton, Gertrude
Austin, Mary
Bidwell, Annie, reformer; in John Bidwell papers
Coolbrith, Ina Donna
Coolidge, Mary Roberts, sociologist, professor at Stanford University and Mills College
DeWitt, Margaret, San Francisco resident of 1850's whose letters reflect a woman's difficulties in living in the city
Donner Party, women members of, recollections, diaries
Frémont, Jessie Benton, wife of explorer and politician, John Charles Frémont
Harold, Hester, suffragist
Hearst, Phoebe Apperson, philanthropist, regent of University of California, mother of William Randolph Hearst

Heyneman, Julie, artist
Jeffers, Una Call, wife of Robinson Jeffers
Keith, Mary McHenry, suffragist; in Keith-Pond papers
London, Charmian, wife of Jack London
Lyman, Helen Hoyt, poet
MacGregors, Helen R., papers concerning her work on the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, Warren and Knight administrations, and other civic activities, 1 box, 4 cartons
Martin, Anne Henrietta, historian, suffragist; correspondence with Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Lou Henry Hoover, Alice Paul, Jeanette Rankin, Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Austin, Mary Ritter Beard, Harriett Stanton Blatch and other reformers and suffragists of the early twentieth century
May, Bernice Hubbard (?-1975), member of Berkeley City Council, Association of Bay Area Governments, and San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission; 2 cartons
McLaughlin, Emma, civic leader, San Francisco
Miles, Josephine, poet

Morgan, Agnes Fay, biochemist and professor of nutrition, University of California, Berkeley; 4 cartons, 1937-1966
 Older, Cora B., wife of Frémont Older
 Parsons, Marion Randall, conservationist, writer, World War I Red Cross worker
 Partington, Blanche, drama critic for *San Francisco Call* and friend of Jack London, George Sterling and other turn-of-the-century literati in San Francisco
 Rosenshine, Annette, artist; correspondence and recollections
 Russell, Helen Crocker, philanthropist
 Shinn, Milicent W., editor of the *Overland Monthly*
 Shirpser, Clara Garfinkle (1901-), Democratic National Committeewoman from California; papers relating to career and to Stevenson-Kefauver presidential primary campaign, 3 boxes, 1 carton, 1948-1968
 Stein, Gertrude, writer; letters (to Ralph Withington Church and his mother, Lawrence Strauss, Alice B. Toklas); 1952 interviews, 8 tapes and transcripts, of Toklas about Gertrude Stein conducted by Roland Duncan; Stein family diaries, 5 volumes by Amelia Stein, 1878-1886; and recollections of Therese Jelenko
 Turner, Ethel Duffy (1885-1969) writer, Mexico and Carmel; personal and professional papers, 1 box, 2 cartons, 1919-1969
 Vernon, Mabel, suffragist
 The diaries of women pioneers are listed in the manuscripts catalog under their names and under "Overland Journey to the Pacific." Some of these collections are discussed in *A Guide to The Manuscript Collection of the Bancroft Library* (1963) by Dale L. Morgan. The university also has a Regional Oral History Office which has conducted extensive interviews with 11 suffragists including Jeanette Rankin, Alice Paul, and Mabel Vernon.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

Special Collections Department
 University Research Library

Anne Carger, Historical Manuscripts Librarian
 405 Hilgard Avenue
 Los Angeles, California 90024
 (213) 825-4879

Douglas, Helen Gahagan, Southern California politician; small amount of material about her career, 1944-1950
 Edson, Katherine Philips, Southern California progressive; papers, pamphlets, and correspondence (including some with Hiram Johnson) on women in industry, minimum wage laws, women's suffrage, 14 boxes, 4 packages, 1909-1934
 Gregory, Elizabeth Hiatt (1872-1955) collector; collection relating to American aviation and pioneer women aviators, ca. 1900-1945
 Meals for Millions Archives, Los Angeles organization for feeding the undernourished, records for 1940-1960's, 47 boxes, 2 oversized packages, ca. 1946-1967, from the estate of Florence Rose, Margaret Sanger's personal secretary. Clifford Clinton founded the organization, and Rose codirected it.

McKee, Ruth Eleanor (1903-) writer and historian for War Relocation Authority; manuscripts, correspondence, research materials, 11 boxes and 2 oversize packages. ca. 1905-1972
 Noel, Frances, Los Angeles socialist, suffragist; uncataloged papers on suffrage and birth control in the 1920's
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, Duarte, 4 volumes, 1909-1939

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

Nancy W. Zinn, Archivist
 Library

San Francisco, California 94122
 (415) 666-2334

Barney, Edna Locke, surgeon; 1 folder, 1914-1918
 Doyle, Helen MacKnight, physician; 1 folder, 1934
 Eddie, Bernice U., assistant professor of bacteriology and assistant director of the George Williams Hooper Foundation; correspondence, 1 folder, 1948
 Gardner, Frances Tomlinson, history librarian; 1 box, 1938-1950
 Kalkman, Marion E., professor of nursing; 2 cartons, 1950-1967
 Montgomery, Mary F., assistant clinical professor of surgery; letters, 1 folder, 1936
 Rosencrantz, Ester, associate professor of medicine and lecturer in medical history and bibliography; 3 boxes, 1920-1950
 Smith, Donna Eloise, physician; 23 leaves, 1967
 Smith, Kathryn Muriel, doctor of education; 166 leaves, 1964
 Toland, Mary Bertha, wife of Hugh Toland, founder of medical school; 1 folder, 1888-1897
 Wartenberg, Isabelle von Sazenhofen, wife of Robert Wartenberg, clinical professor of neurology; translations, 1 box, 1941-1942

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

Lick Observatory Archives

McHenry Library

Mary Lea Shane, Archivist

Santa Cruz, California 95064
 (408) 429-2991

Cannon, Annie Jump, astronomer; 16 letters, 1905-1931
 Clerke, Agnes M., British astronomical writer; 64 letters, 1886-1905
 Furness, Caroline A., astronomer; 22 letters, 1905-1934
 Hearst, Phoebe A., philanthropist; 38 letters, 1892-1917
 Huggins, Lady Margaret, British astronomer; 9 letters, 1877-1914
 Shinn, Milicent W., writer; 20 letters, 1890-1939
 Sitterly, Charlotte M., physicist and astronomer; 64 letters, 1928-1943

The astronomical results of the work of women astronomers and graduate students or fellows at Lick are published primarily in the *Lick Bulletins*.

*A sturdy and venturesome female boxer
of the late-nineteenth century strikes
a professional pose.*

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Special Collections

Richard A. Gleeson Library

D. Steven Corey, Librarian

San Francisco, California 94117

(415) 666-6167

Atherton, Gertrude, 1 typed letter signed

Benson, Stella, 4 autographed letters signed

Berry, Mary, literary and personal friend of Horace Walpole;

7 autographed letters signed

Duchess of Aveiro, Dona María Guadalupe de Lancaster, 15 letters
in Spanish to her from missionaries and colonialists in various
colonies, especially Mexico, ca. 1650-1715

Flanner, Hildegard, 1 typed letter signed

Gleason, Madeline, poet; photographs, ephemera and author-
inscribed volumes, 40 items

Grabhorn, Jane, printer; letters, ephemera and complete collections
of both the Colt and Jumbo Presses

Maria Theresa of Austria, 1 letter, signed

MacNaughton, Mary (Mrs. Arthur Powell Davis) and Clara W.

MacNaughton, suffragists; ca. 200 items

Nightingale, Florence, 1 13-page autographed letter signed

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Heddy A. Richter, Rare Book Librarian

Special Collections

University Park

Los Angeles, California 90024

(213) 746-6058

Amy C. Ransome Collection

Whitney, Sarah Ware, editor and owner of the *Women's
Standard*, the publication of the Equal Suffrage Association of
Waterloo, Iowa; correspondence and memorabilia, ca. 1900

Included in this general collection are letters of other suffragists
in the early twentieth century

Library of Aeronautical History Collection

Women's International Association of Aeronautics, corre-
spondence and records, 10 feet, 1929-1959

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies

Stuart Library of Western Americana

Ronald H. Limbaugh, Archivist

Stockton, California 95211

(209) 946-2404

Campfire Girls, San Joaquin County, California, summer camp
yearbooks, 4 volumes, illustrated, 1920-1922

Dugger, Minnie, hotel proprietor, Stockton; business papers and
hotel records, 15 volumes, 12 items, 1951-1960

Flower, Elsie, journalist, Stockton; family and business corre-



spondence, typescripts of newscasts, notes, photos, and pamphlets,
3 1/4 feet including 8 boxes and 1 scrapbook, 1900-1968

Foulk, Nina, teacher; family correspondence, ca. 75 items, 1864-
1923 (references to women's rights in Mississippi, mining in
California, and San Francisco earthquake, 1906)

Hazelton Family, New England, correspondence, 125 items (5
incomplete), 1830-1904 (concerning voyage to California,
mining, and Civil War soldier life)

Oakland, California, School Women's Club Records, minute
books, secretary's journal, bulletins, and related papers, 5 volumes
and ca. 50 items, 1912-1923

Paden, Irene, author and traveler; travel notebooks, notes on
Western literature, and a book manuscript, 65 volumes, ca. 20
items, 3 feet, 1931-1952

Pond, Inez Henderson, art collector, author; correspondence, drafts
of short stories, notes on California social life and customs,
20 boxes, 8 feet, 1916-1965

Stuart, Winifred Bendel, politician and historian; correspondence,

- business and legal papers, and news clippings from Fremont, California, 26 boxes, 10 feet, 1950-1965
- Taverner, Margaret B., teacher, writer; scrapbook and bibliographical notes relating to the lives, travels, and writings of Mark Twain and Bret Harte, 1 volume, ca. 350 items, 1951-1961
- Van Gilder, Florence Scott, College of Pacific lecturer in Americanization and methods of teaching English to foreigners; public addresses, lecture notes, and instructional materials, 3 boxes, 1 foot
- Withee, Louisa A., correspondence from her sister, Helen A. Manville (Mrs. Charles A.) Pope, American poet living in South America; 73 items, 1890-1920
- Woods, Virna, dramatic actress, author; ca. 1880-1925; drafts of novels and plays, notes, photographs, and correspondence, 9 boxes, 5 feet
- Young, Eleanor, genealogist; ca. 1901-1960, notes and compositions prepared for classes in English literature, world history and California history, ca. 60 items
- Zimmerman, Rheta L., historian for the Yerba Buena Parlor, Native Daughters of the Golden West; correspondence and materials concerning the preservation of California historical monuments and sites, ca. 100 items, 1938-1941

WELLS FARGO BANK HISTORY ROOM

- Merrilee Dowty, Director
420 Montgomery Street
San Francisco, California 94104
(415) 396-2648
- Coit, Lillie Hitchcock (1843-1929), 1 binder
- Crabtree, Lotta (1847-1924), entertainer; 1 binder
- Hill, Cassie (1854-1955), Wells Fargo agent at Roseville, 1884; 4 binder pages
- Jones, Julia, Wells Fargo agent at Mariposa, 1892-1897; 2 binder pages and receipt book
- Montez, Lola (1818-1861), entertainer; 1/4 binder
- Parkhurst, Charley (1812-1878), stagecoach driver; 1 binder

WESTERN JEWISH HISTORY CENTER of the
JUDAH L. MAGNES MEMORIAL MUSEUM

- Ruth Rafael, Archivist
2911 Russell Avenue
Berkeley, California 94705
(415) 849-2710
- Arnstein, Flora Jacobi, poet, author, educator, co-founder of Presidio Hill School; 1 box plus privately printed autobiography, 1884 to present
- Brandeis University, National Women's Committee, Greater Peninsula Chapter, local correspondence, 1 folder, 1963-1964
- Cohn, Daisy, wife of Cantor Benjamin Liederman of Congregation

- Sherith Israel, San Francisco; 1 scrapbook, 1 envelope of clippings, correspondence and photographs, 1892-1938
- Emanu-El Residence Club, San Francisco, Home for Girls, scrapbooks, correspondence, plaques, articles, reports, minutes, articles, architectural plans (some by Julia Morgan, whose assistant was Dorothy Coblentz; see oral history below), 6 boxes and 1 box of photographs; 1894-1969 (also contains personal and business correspondence of Ethel Feineman, Director, 1916-1921)
- Hadassah, San Francisco Chapter, letters, 3 folders, 1917 to present (includes letters from Henrietta Szold, Florence Prag Kahn, and others concerning the founding of the chapter by Rose Rinder; also brochures and miscellaneous material)
- Hassid, Lila B., author, translator of Yiddish poetry and prose; correspondence and translations, 3 boxes, ca. 1960-1966
- Jaffe, Dr. Adele S., physician, child psychiatrist, San Francisco and Berkeley; family documents, photographs and pamphlets, 8 folders, 1895-1968 (includes photocopy of Selina Seixas Solomons Collections on Women's Rights in Bancroft Library)
- Kahn, Florence Prag, teacher, U.S. congresswoman, 1919-1936, 2 folders; M.A. thesis typescript, 1969; 1 scrapbook of Washington, D.C., gossip columns signed "Eavesdropper" (Mrs. Kahn) printed in *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1919
- Levitan, Sonia, author of *Journey to America* and others; correspondence manuscript galley proofs, tape of speech, 4 folders, ca. 1968 to present
- Levy-Goodman Family, Amelia Levy Goodman, Estelle Goodman • Levy, Amelia Levy Lemmon, and others, El Paso, Texas, and California business, civic and professional leaders; scrapbooks and diaries including correspondence and photographs, 1 box, ca. 1880 to present (Organizations included are Council of Jewish Women; Council of Jewish Juniors, Texas Branch; Texas State Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; Women's Club of El Paso; Temple Mt. Sinai, El Paso, Sisterhood, Cloudercroft Recreation Camp—summer camp for underprivileged children, and Baby San Cloudercroft for sick babies)
- Lipmann, Rowena and Family, graphic artist; family papers including photographs, 2 boxes, 1876-1970 (also booklet published by Western Jewish History Center, "The Family of Isaac and Rebecca Brodek Harris")
- Mooser, Hattie and Minnie, proprietors of Aladdin Studio Tiffin Room, active in Children's Theatre, contributors to the theatrical, civic, and cultural life of San Francisco; 4 boxes containing albums and miscellaneous material, ca. 1900-1967
- Prag, Mary, educator, member of San Francisco Board of Education, agitator for women's rights; 2 folders and photographs, ca. 1866-1907 (includes manuscript, "My Life among the Mormons")
- Sills, Marion, San Francisco worker, Department Store Employees Union, Local 110; 1 folder, 1937-1974
- Stern, Rosalie Meyer, civic and social leader, patroness of the arts,



Progressive, well-to-do, and distinguished California women gathered at a luncheon in 1895 honoring suffragist Susan B. Anthony. Attending the party were (standing, from left) Mrs. Marriner-Campbell, well-known singer and teacher; Helen Harland, lecturer and secretary of the California Suffrage Association; hostess Nellie Holbrook Blum; and Anna K. Bidwell, wife of General John Bidwell; (sitting, from left) Mabel Kraft, writer; Anna Howard Shaw; Anthony; Mrs. A.A. Sargent, widow of the U.S. ambassador to Germany; and Rachel Andrews, popular author who wrote under the pen name of Lillian Leland.

wife of Sigmund Stern of Levi Strauss & Co., sister of Eugene Meyer, Jr.; 16 boxes and 1 box photographs (1869-1955), ca. 1842 to present. Includes papers and correspondence of Elise S. Haas [Mrs. Walter Haas], and Mrs. Stern's daughter; and of other members of Mrs. Stern's family both in France and the United States, including Zadok Kahn, Chief Rabbi of France, and the Meyer and Newmark families)

Temple Sinai Women's Group, Oakland, minutes, clippings, programs, 1 folder, 1914 to present (includes 1914 minute book of auxiliary, 1924 book of sewing circle, 1929 35th anniversary booklet of sisterhood, information on Fruit and Flower Mission; see also papers of Ida [Mrs. Joseph] Rude, 1921-1963) Yezierska, Anzia, author of *The Breadgivers*, *Salome of the Tenements*, *Hungry Hearts*, and *Ribbon on a White Horse*; typed manuscripts, published articles, correspondence, 3 folders, ca. 1950-1964

Oral Histories

Branden, Amy Steinhardt, child welfare and community service, Chief Children's Agent, State of California, 1915, in Department of Charities and Corrections, interview of May-June 1975, by Golda (Mrs. Harold J.) Kaufman; ca. 1900 to present
Coblentz, Dorothy Wormer, architect; interview of March 1974; 1917-1974
Elkus, Elizabeth, teacher, widow of Albert I. Elkus, interview of March 1975 at Western Jewish History Center; 1926-1975
Jelenko, Therese, pianist and friend of Michael and Sarah Stein, interview of 1965; ca. 1900-1965

Oral Histories done in conjunction with Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley—Rinder, Rose (Mrs. Reuben R.), music, prayer, and religious leadership, Temple Emanu-El, interview ca. 1971; 1913-1969

Salz, Helen (Mrs. Ansley), educator, civil libertarian, one of the founders of Northern California ACLU and the Presidio Hill School, interview ca. 1975
Forthcoming: Elise S. Haas (Mrs. Walter), Janet Fleishacker (Mrs. Mortimer)

WOMEN'S HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER

Laura X, Director
2325 Oak Street
Berkeley, California 94708
(415) 548-1770

Microfilm Publications:

Herstory, 90 reels at \$28 each, women's serials from the International Women's History Archive from 1956-1974
Women and the Law, 40 reels at \$32 each, sections on law, general, politics, employment, education, rape-prison, prostitution, black and Third World women.
Women's Health/Mental Health, 13 reels at \$32 each, sections on physical and mental health, physical and mental illness (including material on sex role), sex and sexuality, birth and population control, black and Third World women, biology and the life cycle, special magazine issues

Printed Publications:

Bibliographies on Women, arranged by topic, \$2
Directory of Films, by and about women, \$5
Female Artists, Past and Present, to 1974, and 1975 supplement (parts by Wm. Mandel), \$7
Synopsis of Women in World History, \$2
Women and Religion, bibliography, \$3
Women's Museum and Gallery Exhibits by DeReene Coerr

In 1974, WHRC had to disperse most of its Women's History



Red Cross women associated with San Francisco's Maria Kipp Orphanage march in a parade down Market Street probably at the end of World War I.

Library due to lack of operating funds but received federal grants to do the microfilm projects. The collections dispersed are as follows: Women's Serials to Northwestern University, pamphlets to Princeton, and 2000 topical files to the Archive of Contemporary History, University of Wyoming, Laramie. *The Center still has eight original collections for sale to any library or institution (preferably in California) that would like to maintain them: women's studies (bibliographies and course outlines); poetry; recent books; posters; reference collections on women's music, art, film; and women's serials (duplicates). Also for sale is the center's own archives including its correspondence and meeting records from 1968-1975. All correspondence should be accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope and a donation.*

Oregon

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Cathy L. de Lorge, Manuscripts Librarian
1230 S.W. Park Avenue
Portland, Oregon 97205
(503) 222-1741

Boyd, May Spencer
Dolph, Joseph Norton

Duniway, Abigail Scott, including records of Oregon Woman's Equal Suffrage Association, runs of the *New Northwest* and the *Pacific*, women's newspapers with which Duniway was involved
Dye, Eva Emery
Fear, Lucia S.

Johnson, Ada
Mitchell, John Hipple
Neuberger, Maurine B.
Oregon League of Democratic Women
Owens-Adair, Bethenia Angelina
Paine, Lord William
Portland Women's Union
Stevens, John Daniel
Wick, Grace
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The material includes political ephemera and manuscripts, collections of women's organizations: temperance, charitable, cultural, political, etc. See our recent publication, *Manuscript Collection: Oregon Historical Society Research and Bibliograph Series No. 1, 1971*, available in many research libraries. Women are well represented in other manuscript collections, photographs, newspapers, ephemera, and other general sources.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

The Library
Special Collections
Martin Schmitt, Curator
Eugene, Oregon 97403
Code 403-686-3069

Adair Family, Oregon pioneers from Kentucky, letters of Mrs. Adair en route to Oregon and in Astoria, Oregon, 1848-1852
Aitken Family, teachers, music teachers, secretaries; letters, 1874-1969, includes Carrie Frances Aitken, student at Mills Seminary, California, and teacher in Arizona Territory, 1880's; Frances

- Alva Aitken, secretary in Portland, Oregon; Geraldine Aitken, music teacher, Honolulu, Hawaii
- Allen, Sallie E., writer, playwright, manuscripts, correspondence, published pieces, 1906-1943
- Allen, Thelma Diener, writer of juvenile fiction, manuscripts and correspondence, 1951-1967
- Applegate, Oliver C., includes correspondence with Frances Fuller Victor, leader in women's rights movement in Oregon, 1842-1938
- Arvonen, Helen, novelist, papers, 1947-1967
- Atwood, Hazel M., Congregational missionary nurse, Foochow, China, letters, 1933-1950
- Ayer, Margaret, illustrator, manuscripts, illustrations, original and published, 1944-1964
- Bates, Kate S., writer, daughter of first governor of Washington Territory; diaries, letters, essays, 1860-1941
- Beatty, Hetty Burlingame, author, illustrator, manuscripts, original illustrations, correspondence, 1947-1969
- Benary-Isbert, Margot, writer, manuscripts, correspondence, 1950-1967
- Bendick, Jeanne, author, illustrator, original art, manuscripts, 1950-1965
- Bishop, Elizabeth, poet, letters to Carley Dawson, 1948-1949
- Blocklinger, Peggy O'More, writer, journalist, manuscripts, correspondence, published pieces, 1927-1965
- Boucher, Mac, missionary nurse, China; letters, diary, 1926-1949
- Brann, Esther, author, illustrator, manuscripts, original illustrations, correspondence, 1924-1960
- Bratton, Helen, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1962-1969
- Bretano, Lowell, includes correspondence and manuscripts of Frances Hyams Brentano, writer, 1917-1952
- Calbreath Family, includes letters of daughters Helen and Evelene, musicians, 1897-1939
- Carson, Luella Clay, 1889-1916, college professor, president of Mills College, letters, 1909-1913
- Case, Victoria, writer, manuscripts and correspondence, 1938-1962
- Chamberlain, Hazel, missionary teacher, Paraguay; letters, 1922-1925
- Chase, Mary Coyle, playwright, author of *Harvey*, manuscripts, correspondence, 1947-1968
- Cheney, Monoma L., missionary teacher, China; letters, 1918-1930
- Cloran, Mrs. Timothy, professor's wife, Oregon, diaries, 1911-1954
- Coleman, Hila, author of books for and about adolescent girls, manuscripts, 1963-1973
- Collins, Mary Garden, writer, correspondence, including letters from Gertrude Atherton, 1941-1953
- Congregational Church, Albany, Oregon, women's missionary society, constitution and minutes, 1889-1897
- Corbett, Elizabeth, author, manuscripts, plays, 1928-1957
- Cormack, Maribelle, writer, manuscript, correspondence, 1958-1966
- Craig, Mary Francis, writer, manuscripts, correspondence, 1958-1966
- D'Arcy, Marianna H., Oregon pioneer, reminiscences, 1846-1870
- Davies, Mary Caroline, poet, manuscripts, correspondence, 1919-1934
- Dawson, Carley Robinson, author, businesswoman, correspondence, 1921-1968
- Desmond, Alice Curtis, author of fiction and non-fiction for young people, manuscript and correspondence, 1931-1971
- Dun, Marie de Nerval, author of gothic novels and romances, manuscripts, 1958-1968
- Dunbar, Elizabeth G. Lewis, medical missionary, India; autobiography, 1916-1947
- Dunbar, Saidie Orr, social worker, diaries, 1923-1958
- Ederle, Irmengarde, author, manuscripts, correspondence, 1937-1968
- Ehrlich, Bettina, writer, illustrator, manuscripts, letters, original illustrations
- Emery, Anne McGuigan, writer, manuscripts, correspondence, 1941-1967
- Erickson, Ruth, political activist, letters, 1924-1970
- Faubion, Nina Lane, mycologist, secretary to Senator Harry Lane, correspondence, reminiscences, 1887-1938
- Fetter, Elizabeth Head, pseud., Hannah Lees, author of mystery and detective stories and books; correspondence, manuscripts, 1926-1972
- Fitch, Rachel Louise, social worker, letters from France, 1918
- Flebbe, Beulah Dix, playwright, manuscripts, diaries, letters, 1885-1961
- Florence Crittenden Refuge Home, Portland, Oregon, minutes of board of managers, 1903-1906
- Fortner, Ethel Nestell, poet, editor, correspondence, 1963-1973
- Franchere, Ruth M., author, manuscripts, correspondence, 1958-1969
- Friermood, Elizabeth, H., author, manuscripts, correspondence, 1951-1963
- Goltra, Elizabeth J., journal of overland trip to Oregon, 1853
- Gorman, Mary, writer, correspondence, manuscripts, 1940-1965
- Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Oregon, Women's Relief Corps, records, 1889-1916
- Greenbie, Marjorie B., writer, dramatic director, letters, diaries, 1909-1958
- Gress, Ruth A., missionary teacher, China; letters, 1939-1958
- Groff-Smith, Mrs. Everitt, wife of China Customs Officer, autobiography, 1890-1941
- Hader, Elmer and Berta, authors, illustrators, manuscripts, original illustrations, correspondence, 1944-1958
- Hargreaves, Sheba May, writer, correspondence, manuscripts, 1928-1935
- Henry, Vera, writer, correspondence, manuscripts, 1949-1967
- Hensolt, Edith Ashmore, librarian, diaries, letters, 1896-1951
- Hill Family, includes correspondence of Nelle May Hill, daughter, student at Stanford, active in women's rights in Oregon, 1868-1900

- Hobart, Alice Tisdale, writer, manuscripts, correspondence, 1917-1963
- Hobart, Emily, missionary wife, China, letters, 1884-1928
- Holberg, Ruth L., writer, correspondence, manuscripts, 1923-1968
- Honeyman, Nan Wood, congresswoman, correspondence, 1932-1950
- Hutchins, Grace, labor organizer, writer, letters, 1898-1954
- Ingerson, Vera F., missionary nurse, Korea; letters, 1916-1965
- Jackson, Jean, writer, manuscripts, correspondence, 1953-1967
- Jones, Elizabeth Orton, writer, illustrator, manuscripts, original illustrations, correspondence, 1925-1968
- Krautter, Elisa Bialk, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1947-1968
- Lacy, Jessie A., missionary teacher, China; letters, 1913-1950
- Lampman, Evelyn Sibley, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1913-1950
- Leach, Lilla, botanist, letters, 1928-1938
- League of Women Voters of Oregon, records, 1924-1965
- Lec, Tina, designer, writer, manuscripts, art work, letters, 1926-1961
- Leighton, Margaret C., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1937-1960
- Leland, Bernice, botanist, diary in South Seas, 1909-1910
- Littell, Robert, includes letters of Anita Damrosch Littell, 1949-1963
- McCall, Virginia M., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1935-1965
- McConnell, Frederick C., includes letters and other papers of Katherine Wick Kelly, actress, playwright, 1906-1937
- McGraw, Eloise J., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1949-1966
- McLelland, Isabel C., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1941-1962
- MacLeod, Ruth D., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1953-1965
- McMinnville Ladies Sanitary Aid Society, Oregon, records, 1864-1865
- Main, Idabelle L., missionary teacher, China, South America; letters, diaries, 1911-1949
- Mallery, Bell, schoolteacher, Oregon pioneer, diary, 1866-1868
- Marsfield, Norma Bicknell, writer of books for children, manuscripts and correspondence, 1929-1960
- Moore, Lilian, poet, manuscripts, published items, 1959-1968
- Moore, Rosalie, poet, manuscripts, letters, 1935-1970
- Moore, Althea, student, Willamette University; diary, 1877
- Morse, Esther, missionary doctor, China, India; letters, 1929-1963
- Moses, Mathilde R., missionary teacher, India; letters, 1916-1949
- Neuberger, Maurine B., congresswoman, congressional papers, 1950-1967
- New England Conservatory Club, Portland, Oregon, minute books, 1902-1922, 1936-1942
- O'Connor, Hugh, includes 470 letters from Katherine Ursula Parrott, writer, 1928-1939
- O'Hare, Kate Richard, pacifist, letters to F. P. O'Hare, 1919
- Pennell, Joseph Stanley, includes letters of Martha Gellhorn, Marion Ives, Elizabeth Horton, 1927-1934
- Phelps, Naomi, poet, manuscripts, *n.d.*
- Price, Christine, writer, illustrator, manuscripts, original illustrations, letters, 1948-1964
- Raymond, Almira Adeline, wife of Oregon pioneer missionary, letters, 1849-1870
- Reik, Elsie I., missionary teacher, China; letters, 1922-1927
- Robbins, Kate L., pioneer wife, California, Oregon; letters, 1855-1886
- Rochester, Anna, editor, labor organizer, letters, 1880-1965
- Royal, Denise, author of books for young people, correspondence and manuscripts, 1967-1969
- Ryan, Queen B. Lister, writer, manuscripts, 1927-1956
- St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Oregon City, Women's Guild, minutes, 1877-1882, 1900-1908
- Seely, Nell, composer, music manuscripts, letters, 1939-1965
- Simester, Edith W., missionary teacher, China; letters, 1945-1946
- Skinner, James E., includes letters of Susan Skinner, medical missionary, China, 1887-1948
- Smith, Charles and Viola, missionaries, Congo; letters, diaries, papers, 1922-1968
- Smith, Myrtle, missionary teacher, China; letters, 1921-1947
- Snow, Myra, missionary teacher, China; letters, 1928-1930
- Soule, Isobel Walker, editor, social worker, correspondence, 1916-1972
- Speare, Dorothy, author, playwright, manuscripts, letters, 1914-1948
- Steffan, Alice J., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1956-1966
- Sterling, Dorothy, journalist, manuscripts, 1923-1950
- Sterne, Emma Gelders, author, pacifist, letters, manuscripts, 1927-1967
- Stevenson, Janet, writer, playwright, manuscripts, letters, 1929-1966
- Stoughton, A. Ella, pioneer, diary of voyage around the world, 1881-1886
- Uchida, Yoshiko, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1949-1951
- Underhill, Ruth Murray, anthropologist, manuscripts, miscellaneous papers, 1959-1965
- Unwin, Nora S., artist, original art work, 1943-1947
- Waldo, Mary Jane, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1948-1965
- Ward, Harriet L., composer, music manuscripts, 1928-1942
- Way, Isabel Stewart, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1931-1966
- Weil, Lisl, writer, illustrator, manuscripts, original art work, correspondence, 1967-1969
- Wheeler, Laura Maude, missionary teacher, China; reminiscences, letters, 1903-1948
- Whiteley, Opal S., writer, letters, mementos, 1911-1918
- Williams, Jean, composer, manuscript music, letters, 1941-1957
- Wilson, Eleanor, missionary, Japan, Micronesia; letters, 1925-1951
- Women's Republican Patriotic League, Eugene, Oregon, minutes, 1899-1902
- Women's Christian Temperance Union, Gardiner, Oregon, records, 1889-1910
- Women's Emergency Corps, Portland, Oregon, membership and activity records, 1898
- Wyndham, Lee, writer, manuscripts, letters, 1947-1968
- Yaukey, Grace S., writer, manuscripts, letters, 1934-1966

The Library has published a *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 1971, and has prepared a supplement.

Washington

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Edelweiss Study Club, minutes, scrapbooks, and membership lists, 1 foot, 1925-1945

Gilman, Estella Trowbridge (1864-1969) school teacher, including genealogy of her ancestry and Civil War letters, 3 feet

Loring, Elizabeth Elaine Brodt (1909-1976) playwright, plays, scripts, and other literary works, including papers of "On State," Tacoma summer theatre, 2 feet

National League of Woman's Service, Pierce County Chapter, activities and registrations of more than 1,000 women active during World War I, 2 feet, 1918-1919

Nessenson, Elsa Behaim (1877-1969) local playwright, programs, playbills, scripts and letters, 2 feet, 1914-1969

Noel, Jacqueline, Tacoma Public Library Director, 1924-1946, active in State Federation of Women's Clubs and in securing library legislation at State level

Snell, Bertha (1879-1957) first woman lawyer admitted to bar in Washington State, legal cases, family letters, and photographs

Stanley, Beatrice (1887-1972) Alaskan-Yukon pioneer, resided 800

miles up the Porcupine River, 1926-1934; hunting, mining, and trapping with her husband. In retirement years, in Seattle, formed Alaska Friends, a benevolent society for old sourdoughs; correspondence, diaries, prose and poetry, and many photos, and some film, 10 feet

Welch, Marie Douglas (1914-1950) genealogical research on Welch, Armistead, Bernard, Cary, Douglass, and Ramsdell families, 2 feet

Wyche Story League, minutes, scrapbooks, programs and membership lists of Des Moines, Washington, branch of National Story League, 1 foot, 1934-1961

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARIES

Liisa Fagerlund, Curator of Manuscripts

Seattle, Washington 98195

(406) 543-1760

Politics and Government

Aliesan, Jody, *n.d.*, activist in feminist movement, member Seattle Women's Commission, 1 foot, 1969-1972

Benson, Naomi Achenbach, Democratic Party worker, 21 feet, 1898-1961

Brinton, Joan M., *n.d.*, xerox copy of manuscript "Madeline Zabriskie Doty, 1877-1963; the Feminist as Reformer," ca. 70 pp.

Bryant, Alice Franklin, *n.d.*, poet, writer, pacifist, xerox copies of clippings, 2 inches, ca. 1946-1961



Educated young ladies formed a baseball club while attending a seminary school in 1890.



Back-straining domestic labor—performed for both families and employers—characterized the dawn-to-dusk existence of many working-class women.

Coney, Thelma, *n.d.*, social worker, pacifist, 1 foot, 1967-1970
 Cooper, Sue Hamilton (1887-1968) civic leader, 6.5 feet, 1926-1963
 Edwards, Myrtle, *n.d.*, Seattle city councilwoman, interested in urban planning, 1955-1969, 7.5 feet, 1955-1964
 Equal Rights Amendment, House Joint Resolution 61, Washington, 1.5 feet, 1972
 Farquharson, Mary (1902-?) civil rights leader, state senator, 1 foot, 1935-1942
 Feminist Coordinating Council, a coalition of various organizations interested in women's rights, 5 inches, 1972-1975
 Fick, Nellie Mitchell, *n.d.*, suffrage leader, 7 inches, 1917-1944
 Forbus, Lady Willie, *n.d.*, assistant attorney general, 1940-1942, state senator, 1942-1946, 6 feet, 1945-1963
 Hansen, Julia Butler (1907-?) state representative, 1939-1960, congresswoman 1960-1974, ca. 175 feet, 3 reels microfilm, 1948-1970
 Hopkinson, Mary, *n.d.*, political activist, leftist organizations, 4.5 feet, 1923-1964
 Harwood, Rosemary, *n.d.*, section head, Seattle Model City Program, 1970-1971, city planner 1970 to present, 7 feet, 1966-1973
 Landes, Bertha Knight (1868-1943) Seattle mayor, 1926-1928, 7 inches, 1921-1932
 League of Women Voters, Seattle, Washington, and local chapters, 16 feet, 1954 to present
 McCaffree, Mary Ellen, *n.d.*, state representative, 1962-1970, director Government Tax Advisory Council, 1974 to present, president League of Women Voters, 6 feet, 1968-1974
 National Organization for Women (NOW) includes papers of President Helen Sommers, 7 inches, 1971-1972
 Norwood, Jean Eileen (1919-) Washington, Alaska; city official, civic worker, 10 feet, 1951-1970
 Pailthorpe, Michele, *n.d.*, executive director Equal Rights Amendment, tape recorded interview, 1 reel, 1972
 Parkhurst, Minnie, (?-1971) political activist, pacifist, women's

liberation and radical movements, 7 inches, 1913-1972
 Powell, Mildred (1886-) Seattle city councilwoman 1935-1955, active in moral rearmament, 1 foot, 1935-1960
 Radical Women, Seattle, ephemera, 1 inch, 1969-1971
 Riley, Edith Dolan (1885-) Monterey, California and Washington; political leader Democratic party, 5 feet, 1909-1964
 Spear, Lillian Sylten (1897-1963) activist, public power, 5.5 feet, 1936-1963
 Stephens, Mary C. (1919-) president League of Women Voters, social welfare leader, 2 feet, 1951-1969
 Stern, Bernice, *n.d.*, King County councilwoman, executive National Council of Jewish Women, 10.5 feet, 1958-1975
 Strong, Anna Louise (1885-1970) Ohio, Illinois, California, U.S.S.R., Spain, China, Washington; world traveller, journalist, author, 15 feet, 7 reels microfilm, 1885-1970
 Testu, Jeanette (1898-1963) state legislator, 1952-1962, Democratic Party National Committee Woman, 4.5 feet, 1933-1962
 Thomas, Joan, *n.d.*, president League of Women Voters, Seattle 1962-1963, active in redistricting, initiative 211, ca. 1950-1974
 Wanamaker, Pearl Anderson (1899-) state representative, 1929-1930, state senator, 1936-1940, superintendent public instruction 1940-1956, 31 feet, 1925-1957
 Washington Citizens for Abortion Reform, 1.5 feet, 1968-1970
 Widditsch, Ann, *n.d.*, president Washington ACLU, member Washington Ecological Committee, civic leader, 1964, 1967-1973
 Windoffer, Melba, *n.d.*, feminine activist, materials of Socialist Workers Party, 1.5 feet, 1939-1966

Miscellaneous Papers

Beek, Eleanor Nordhoff (?-1966) cultural, civic leader, 7 feet, 1920-1966
 Burke, Caroline Ethel McGilvra (1858-1932) social leader, 4 feet, 1884-1934
 Edel, May Mandelbaun (1909-?) Oregon and Washington; anthropological linguist, 3 feet, 1890, 1913, 1930-1939

Fisher, Anna R., *n.d.*, writer, civil rights activist, 3 feet, ca. 1940-1959
 Gearhart, Lucy, *n.d.*, materials relating to the History of Women's
 Christian Temperance Union, *n.d.*, 3.5 feet
 Lawrence, Cora, *n.d.*, educator, nurse, materials collected for
 dissertation about nursing, 7 inches, ca. 1909-1930
 Leary, Eliza Ferry (ca. 1851-1936) social leader, 1.5 feet, 1968-1899
 Levine, Naomi, *n.d.*, geriatric social worker, 3 feet, 1967-1970
 Miller, Mary A., *n.d.*, England, U.S.; nurse, letters, 2 inches,
 1942-1945
 Miner, Louella (1861-1935) China; educator; missionary, 1887-1935;
 author, 1 foot, 1884-1935
 Moran, Mary Adelaide (1914-1972) U.S.; W.A.C., 2 inches, ca.
 1942-1951
 Parents and Teachers Association, Washington, 25 feet, 1954-1969
 Roderick, Stella Virginia (ca. 1880-?) New York, Illinois;
 magazine editor, suffrage leader, 2 inches, 1921-1947
 Semple, Eugene (1840-1908) territorial governor in 1887 when
 suffrage was enacted, papers include approximately 100 letters
 on suffrage bill, 8 feet, 1865-1908
 Strong, Ruth Tracy (1860-1903) U.S., Europe; Christian leader,
 primarily in missionary movement, 2 inches, 1884, 1899, 1903
 Washington State League of Nursing, 3.5 feet, 1948-1964
 Washington State Nurses Association, 77.5 feet, 1911-1960
 Young Women's Christian Association, Seattle, 27.5 feet, 1920-1973

Afro-American Project, Tape-recorded interviews

Gayton, Virginia, 2 cassette tapes
 Grimes, Leola, 1 cassette tape
 Hart, Beula, 1 cassette tape and transcription
 Hearst, Armeta, 1 cassette tape
 Saunders, Carnelia, 1 cassette tape, 60 minutes
 Spearman, Vivian, 1 cassette tape, 60 minutes
 Strong, Eva, 1 cassette tape, 45 minutes
 Thomas, Constance Allen Pitter (1917-) 3 cassette tapes, 1.5
 hours and 20 minutes
 Ware, Florence (1915-) 2 cassette tapes
 Wolfert, Liola, 1 cassette tape and transcription

Afro-American Project, Collections

Asberry, Nettie, J., *n.d.*, founder NAACP in Tacoma, president
 Colored Women's Federation of Washington and jurisdiction,
 5 inches, 1889-1966
 Cooper, Belle Taylor McKnight, *n.d.*, civic leader, 7 inches,
 1945-1968
 Cage, Fern (1883-1963) Oregon, church, civic, civil rights leader,
 8 feet, 1933-1967
 McCabe, Eliza, *n.d.*, president Washington Association of Colored
 Women, 2 boxes, 1909-1966
 Marple, Lorna, *n.d.*, Oregon; civic, civil rights, president Portland
 NAACP, 1936-1961; Democratic Party leader, 10 feet, 1936-1961
 Ware, Florentine (1915-) civic, civil rights, social leader,
 microfilm, 1967-1970

Jewish Archive Project, Tape-recorded interviews

Altose, Sophie, ca. 60 minutes
 Anches, Libby, 1 reel, 1905-1925
 Angel, Lydia, ca. 40 minutes, ca. 1900-1925
 Arensberg, Rose, 2 reels, papers, 1900-1945
 Berch, Laura, 1 reel, papers, 5 inches, ca. 1925-1946
 Bernhard, Minnie, 30 minutes; papers, 1½ feet, 1913-1950
 Berro, Rose Scharhon, 60 minutes, 1899-1974
 Blumenthal, Helen Birkman, 1 reel, 1890-1940
 Brenner, Ruth Kutoff Lukov, 1½ hours, ca. 1880-1975
 Calvo, Sema, ca. 55 minutes, 1900-1930
 Caston, Jennie, 1 reel, ca. 20 minutes
 Dreifus, Betty, 30 minutes, papers
 Eckstein, Joanna, 90 minutes, photographs, 1850-1950
 Friedman, Esther, ca. 65 minutes
 Gens, Fannie, 20 minutes, 1900-1905
 Greengard, Bernice Degginger, 60 minutes, 1895-1975
 Gross, Esther, ca. 90 minutes, photo negatives
 Grunbaum, Hannah, 60 minutes, photo negative, papers, 1890-1930
 Israel, Rachel Cohen, 60 minutes, papers, 1890-1968
 Israel, Rebecca, 15 minutes, in Spanish with English summary
 Israel, Victoria, 30 minutes
 Lawson, Manya, ca. 45 minutes, 1914-1974
 Levy, Louisa F., ca. 2 hours, photographs, 1849-1860
 Lighter, Esther, ca. 90 minutes, 1900-1970
 Lindenberger, Edith Rosenberg, 1 reel
 Loussac, Ada, 2 hours, 1890 to present
 Lurie, Edith (Mrs. Meyer), 1½ hours, 1894-1948
 Mosheatel, Rebecca Morhaim, 1 reel, 1907-1950
 Nelson, Emma Ginsberg, 2 hours, photo and negative, 1890-1908
 Ringold, Roxe, 30 minutes, papers, ½ inch, 1900-1949
 Rogoway, Esther Schreiber, 50 minutes, 1905-1940
 Sameth, Stella, 1900-1940
 Schermer, Jennie, 40 minutes, papers, ca. 1879-1910
 Snyder, Anita, ca. 45 minutes, 1895-1940
 Steinbrecher, Emelie, 80 minutes, photograph, papers, 1905-1945
 Sussman, Mary, 1897-1928
 Uziel, Perla Bensal, 30 minutes, ca. 1900-1940
 Webber, Ruby Klein, 50 minutes, 1890-1930
 Wolfe, Gertrude Pearl, 70 minutes, 1884-1975

Jewish Archives Project, Organizations

Council of Jewish Women, Seattle Section, Jewish women's civic
 organization active in philanthropy and education, papers,
 1½ feet, 1900 to present
 Hebrew Ladies' Free Loan Society of Seattle, papers, 1½ feet,
 1948-1973
 Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, Seattle Ladies Auxiliary,
 1 inch, 1955, 1968
 Jews. Bikur Cholim, Sisterhood, 3 inches, 1939-1940, 1957-1970
 Jews. Herzl-Ner-Tamid, Sisterhood, 1 inch, 1947

Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, Avivah Chapter, Seattle, 2 inches, 1940-1950, 1953-1957

Frontier and Pioneer Life

Chambers, Andres Jackson family, 2.5 feet, 1853-1922

Crumbaker, Martha, 11 letters, 1877-1906

Firth, Lila Hannah, 35 pp., 1865-1881

Goodell, Anna Maria, 1/2 inch, 1854

Gordon, Wyona Eliza Surfus Stahlnecker (1878-?), Kansas, Oregon; 1 inch, 102 pp., 1883

Hartman, Sarah McAllister, 55 pp., 1843-1878

Hartsuck, Ann S. Conner (1826-1918) describes voyage New York to Washington, 10 items, 1824, 1839, 1865, 1866

Hartsuck, Mrs. Ben, *n.d.*, reminiscence, description of life and working conditions in logging community, 1 inch ca. 1905-1919

Hayden, Mary Logan, 1 cassette tape, 60 minutes, 1890-1970

Knight, Amelia, Oregon, 1/2 inch, 1853

Larsen, Kirsten, 1 inch, ca. 1870-1900

Roeder, Elizabeth, A., (Mrs. Henry), 1/2 inch, 1854

Rudene, Elizabeth Cornelius (1849-?) 1/4 inch

Sparkman, Ida Ross, 1/2 inch, 1938

Swift, Louise, 1/2 inch, 1863-1869

Timpe, Joyce and Wilson J., 1 cassette tape, 30 minutes, 1890-1940

Walsh, Helen Julia Mason and Edward F., 1/2 inch, 1883-1928

Wehmeyer, Gladys, 1 cassette tape, 60 minutes, 1900-1970

White, Carrie, M., 1 inch, 1882-1891

Women University of Washington Faculty Members and Offices

Abernathy, Ruth, *n.d.*, president, American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1954-1956; professor and chairperson, Department of Health and Physical Education for Women, 1966-1972, 6 feet, ca. 1930-1973

Broer, Marion Ruth, (1910-?) professor, School of Physical and Health Education, ca. 1.5 feet, 1936-1971

Dean of Women Office, ca. 27 feet, 1932-1970

Equal Opportunities for Women Office, 2 feet, ca. 1972-1974

Garfield, Viola, (1898-?) British Columbia, Alaska; professor of anthropology, 4 feet, 1928-1964

Gunther, Erna (1896-?) professor, anthropology, 5 feet, ca. 1950-1961

Harris, Florence, R., *n.d.*, director, Developmental Psychology, Laboratory Preschool, 2 feet, 1941, 1954-1964, 1971

Hoffman, Katherine J., *n.d.*, professor, maternal and child nursing, 1 foot, 1957-1972

Loughran, Henrietta Adams, *n.d.*, Washington, Colorado; director School of Nursing, 1937-1938; dean, College of Nursing, University of Colorado, 1942-1965, 5 feet, ca. 1930-1944

McMahon, Teresa (1878-1960) professor, economics, 3 feet, ca. 1929-1960

Mortarboard Office, Tolo Chapter, Seattle, ca. 4 feet, ca. 1915-1973

Munro, Kathleen, *n.d.*, professor, School of Music, 1963-1970, Library of Congress "Taping for the Blind" project, 2.5 inches

Ober, Caroline (1866?-1929) professor, Spanish and romance languages, 9.5 feet, 1897-1929

Payne, Blanche, *n.d.*, professor, home economics, 1 foot, 1951-1964 School of Nursing Office, ca. 27 feet, ca. 1930-1970

Staff Women's Forum, ca. 50 items, 1970-1972

Teller, Daivda, *n.d.*, professor, psychology, adjunct professor, physiology and biophysics; chairperson, Faculty Senate Special Committee on Faculty Women, 1972-1974, 3 feet, ca. 1972-1974

Wilson, Ruth, *n.d.*, executive officer and professor, School of Physical and Health Education, Department for Women, 1 foot, 1945-1971

Japanese-Americans

Katayama, May Herd, *n.d.*, Baptist missionary, 1 tape, 60 minutes, 1899-1964

McCullough, Esther Mary, *n.d.*, Baptist missionary, 1 foot, 1936-1939, 1945, ca. 1950

Sugi, Michi (Sugimachi, Miyoshi) (1925-1968) Washington and California; prima donna, founder Japanese Cultural Broadcasting Association KKKD, Los Angeles

Conservation

Crisler, Lois Brown (1897-1971) Arctic, Colorado, Washington; naturalist, author, 4 feet, 1941-1958

Double K. Mountain Ranch, Washington, owned and operated by Isabelle Lynn and Kathryn Kershaw whose papers relate to conservation activities, mainly Cougar Lakes Wilderness Area, 10 inches, 1959-1969

Haig, Emily, *n.d.*, conservationist; president P.T.A., 1934-1938; executive Red Cross; president Seattle Audubon Society 1952-1956, active in Washington environmental council, Sierra Club, 27 feet, 1934-1972

Marshall, Louise, B., *n.d.*, conservationist, recreationalist, 3 feet, 1965-1971

Women in Arts

Art

Hanson, Isabel (1901-1973) painter, 5 inches, 1955-1973

Nicholson, Patricia K. (1900-) painter, 6 feet, 1923-1973

Theatre

James, Florence Bean (1892-) theatre director, drama consultant, 3 feet, 1918-1972

Pederson, Elfrida, *n.d.*, leader in Danish amateur theatre, 1915 to present, collection mostly ephemera in Danish, 5 inches

Schultz, Cecilia Augspurger, *n.d.*, concert impresario, pianist, 10 inches, 1928-1966

Sunborg, Vilma, *n.d.*, U.S. actress Swedish-American theatre, 1.5 feet, 1900-1940

Literature

Hartshorn, Florence M. (1869-1943) Alaska; writer of children stories and articles about Alaska and Seattle, 10 inches, 1909-1934



Forced to find employment out of the home, these San Jose assembly-line women supported families by filling jars and cans with ripe olives.

Higginson, Ella, *n.d.*, (?-1940) poet, prose writer, ca. 25 items, 1924-1939
 Risberg, Gerda, *n.d.*, California Swedish-American poet, columnist, 5 scrapbooks in Swedish, 1932-1963
 Shephard, Esther (1892-) author, 2 feet, 1921-1955
 Smith, Elice Maude (1868-1938) writer, M.D., 3.5 feet, 1910-1936
 Triem, Eve (1902-) Iowa, California, Washington; poet, 4.5 feet, 1936-1973

Visual Arts

Abrams, Maria Frank, *n.d.*, painter, oil, 1 cassette, 17 page transcript, 1940's-1975
 Banks, Virginia, *n.d.*, painter, oil, mixed, 1 reel, 38 page transcript, 1940-1972
 Bringlow, Frances, *n.d.*, historical doll maker, 1 reel, 17 page transcript, 1930's-1975
 Chase, Gail, *n.d.*, art dealer, 1 cassette, 15 page transcript, 1960's
 Cunningham, Imogene (1883-) U.S.; photographer, 3 reels, 41 page transcript, 1900-1974
 Dusanna, Zoe, *n.d.*, art dealer, 2 inches, 1942-1964
 Farris, Linda, *n.d.*, art dealer, 2 cassettes, 1970's
 Friedlander, Polly, *n.d.*, art dealer, 1 cassette, 10-page transcript, 1974
 Hanson, Isabel (1901-1973) painter, oils, 5 inches, 1955-1973
 Juvonen, Helmi, *n.d.*, painter, watercolor, oil, 2 inches, 2 cassettes, 44 page transcript, 1960's, 1930's-1970
 Kirk, Luch, *n.d.*, collector, 2 cassettes, 41 page transcript, Mid-20th century
 Lehman, Thelma, *n.d.*, painter, oil, critic, 1 reel
 Morse, Emily Hall, *n.d.*, painter, oil, mixed, 1 cassette, 1960's
 National League of American Pen Women, Seattle branch (1927 to present) Washington artists group, 4 feet, 1927-1970
 Nicholson, Patricia K. (1900-) painter, tempera, oil, 6 feet, 1923-1973

Patha, Darlene Camilla, *n.d.*, painter, oil, acrylic, 1 reel, 1962-1972
 Penington, Ruth, *n.d.*, jeweler, teacher, 1 reel, mid-20th century
 Powell, Rosalyn Gale, *n.d.*, painter, oil, 1 reel, 1950's-1960's
 Salzer, Lisel, *n.d.*, enamelist, painter, oil, 1 cassette
 Seders, Francine, *n.d.*, art dealer, 2 feet, 1 inch, 1960-1972
 Tomkins, Margaret, *n.d.*, painter, oil, 1 reel, 14 page transcript, 1970's
 Wright, Virginia, *n.d.*, art benefactor, 2 cassettes, 31 page transcript, 1950-1975

The Visual Arts and Feminism

Jones, Fay, *n.d.*, painter, oil, 1 cassette, 1970's
 Pacific, Gertrude, *n.d.*, painter, oil, acrylic, 1 reel, 1970's
 Pizzuto, Laurie, *n.d.*, painter, oil, mixed, 1 reel, 1970's
 Sano, Minna, *n.d.*, painter, oil, acrylic, 1 reel, 1970's
 Solberg, Romona, *n.d.*, teacher, jeweler, 1 reel, 1970's
 Westcoast, Wanda, *n.d.*, U.S.; painter, oil, mixed, 1 reel, 1970's

Sculpture and Tactility

Alexander, Pat., *n.d.*, Oregon sculpture, 1 reel, 17 page transcript, 1970's

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Blackwell, Ruby, uninventoried materials on her activities in Tacoma

Jones, Hilman F., two-page speech, 1927, itemizing neglect of women in construction of pioneer monuments in Washington state

Overland journeys collection, diaries of women crossing the country to Oregon Territory

Woman Suffrage Collection, newspaper clippings, memorabilia, suffrage speeches for Nebraska and Washington, letters to Walter and Barbara J. Thompson from Mrs. John B. Allen, Susan B. Anthony, Belle G. Bigelow, Alice Stone Blackwell, Henry B. Blackwell, Ada M. Bittenbender, Gerela N. McCoy, Senator A. Saunders, and Lucy Stone, 70 pp.

WPA Federal Writers' Project for Washington State, manuscripts concerning women in state development, 8 folders

WASHINGTON STATE LIBRARY

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 Washington-Northwest Room
 Olympia, Washington 98504
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Emma Smith DeVoe (1858-1927) correspondence concerning the suffrage movement in Washington state from 1900-1910 centering around the activities of the Washington Equal Suffrage Associa-

tion but including correspondence from suffrage groups in other states; other correspondence relates to the National Council of Women Voters, Tacoma, founded by Mrs. DeVoe in 1911; correspondence between Bernice Sapp and Dr. Cora Smith King regarding the Washington chapter of the *History of Woman Suffrage*; among the prominent correspondents in the collection are: Rachel Roster Avery, 19 letters; James H. Brady, Governor of Idaho, 32 letters; Olympia Brown, 22 letters; Carrie Chapman Catt, 117 letters; Emma Smith DeVoe, 35 letters; Abigail Scott Duniway, 18 letters; Cora Smith Eaton, 68 letters; May Arkwright Hutton, 15 letters; Bernice Sapp, 40 letters; Anna H. Shaw, 40 letters; and Harriet Taylor Upton, 45 letters; a ledger with a handwritten listing of the contents of the collection, 3 feet and 13 scrapbooks

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

Dr. Earle Connette, Librarian and Chief
Manuscripts-Archives Division
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- Abel-Henderson, Annie Heloise (1873-1947) historian, correspondence, notes, clippings, manuscripts, and printed material compiled and collected by Dr. Abel-Henderson regarding native policies of English-speaking countries, American history, Russian history, and women's suffrage, 8 feet, 1860-1950
- Carr, Hamptonetta Burgess, correspondence of H. B. Carr and her sister, Catherine B. Carr, and family and friends, especially H. B. Carr's school days at Swarthmore College, the family's movement westward, and C. B. Carr's commercial experiences in northern Idaho, 200 items, 1881-1950
- Clark, Ella Elizabeth (1896-) educator, folklorist and author, correspondence, clippings, notes, manuscripts and printed materials, primarily about Indian lore and legends, 2.5 feet, 1947-1961
- Crandall, Lulu Donnell (1854-1931) historian and author, correspondence, clippings, notes, articles and printed material pertaining to Northwest history, 3.5 feet, 1895-1929
- Dana, Lucile Olive Davis (1891-1974) teacher, amateur essayist and housewife; correspondence, student notes, drafts of essays and other papers of a university faculty wife active in Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Association of University Women, 6.5 feet, 1870-1974
- Decker, Hermine, Duthie, (1908-) dramatist, letters, photographs, and typescripts of plays, 25 items, 1941-1969
- Dreamer, Marion Bilbrough, educator, correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks, photographs and printed material regarding experiences as a teacher at Indian reservations, Indian schools, and Job Corps camps, 5 feet, 1929-1965
- Hawes, Evelyn Johnson, (1915-) author, correspondence, notes, articles, manuscripts, drafts, and other papers, both personal and professional, 12 feet, 1932-1970

- Hult, Ruby El (1912-) author, correspondence, notes, drafts, manuscripts, article and other papers, 12 feet, 1924-1971
- James, Florida Virginia Hall (1896-) student, teacher, and rural housewife; correspondence, diaries, photographs and other papers, 2 feet, 1909-1950
- Kennedy, Alice, scrapbooks and clippings on history and individuals including women in the Inland Empire, 18 feet, 1909-1957
- McEwen, Inez Puckett (1904-) author, manuscripts, journals, correspondence, clippings, photographs, memorabilia, and other papers, 6 feet, 1948-1965
- May, Catherine Dean Barnes (1914-) U.S. representative in Congress from Washington, 1959-1971; correspondence on government career and other papers, 210 feet, 1958-1971
- Phillips, Velma (1891-) Dean, College of Home Economics, Washington State University, 1938-1961; papers on academic career, 54 feet, 1938-1953
- Rebow, Mary Martin, letters to her husband giving a detailed picture of 18th century English social history, 100 items, 1767-1779
- Robins, Elizabeth (1865-1952?) American actress and author, correspondence with Galsworthy, Maugham, Archer, Trevelyan and others, as well as manuscript notes for the translation of Ibsen's plays, 60 items, 1851-1942
- Sitwell, Dame Edith (1887-1964) English poet, holograph drafts of poems and a working notebook, correspondence with Thomas Balston, Dr. Hal Lydiard Wilson, Elizabeth Salter, Dorothy Marshall, Graham Greene, Siegfried Sassoon, and others, 165 items, 4 feet, 1917-1967
- Thomas, Edith Matilda (1854-1925) American poet, letters and poems sent to William Hayes Ward, 1835-1916, and other editors of the New York *Independent*, 24 items, 1886-1911
- Walker, Mary Richardson (1811-1897) missionary, papers related to the Walker mission at Tshimakain, Washington, and the Walkers' work among the Spokane Indians, 3 feet, 1826-1940
- Whitman, Narcissa Prentiss (1808-1847) missionary, correspondence and diaries related to the Whitman mission at Waiilatpu, 15 items, 1827-1938

British Columbia

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

A. R. Turner, Provincial Archivist
Frances Cundry, Head Manuscript Division
Victoria, British Columbia
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Crease Collection

Crease, Josephine (1864-1947) daughter of Sarah and H. P. P.
Crease, letters and diaries, 18 inches, 1878-1942
Crease, Sarah Lindley (1826-1922) wife of H. P. P. Crease,



Clerical jobs were among the first semi-skilled positions open to women, as evidenced by this mixed business-school classroom.

Attorney General and Judge of the Supreme Court; letters, guestbooks, diaries, 18 inches, 1857-1912
 Crease, Susan (1855-1947) daughter of Sarah and H. P. P. Crease, Letters and diaries, 2 feet, 1865-1943

O'Reilly Collection

O'Reilly, Caroline Agnes Trutch (1831-1899) wife of Peter O'Reilly, gold commissioner and Indian commissioner; letters and diaries, 1 foot, 1868-1897
 O'Reilly, Charlotte Kathleen (1867-1945) daughter of Caroline and Peter O'Reilly, letters and diaries, 4 inches, 1878-1919

Other Collections

McClung, Nellie (1873-1953) author and temperance advocate, papers, 10 feet, 1894-1950
 Moody, Mary Sussana, wife of Colonel R. C. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, letters, 1/2 inch, 1858-1863
 Phillips, Margaret Oxley (1878-1960) settler on the Columbia Valley Irrigated Fruit Lands, letters, 3 inches, 1912-1914
 Women's Institutes, minute books, 40 volumes, 1911 to present
 The Provincial Archives hold approximately 30 collections of women's diaries and letters from 1850 to present.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Anne Yandle, Head, Special Collections Division
 The Library
 Vancouver, 8, Canada
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Abel-Henderson, Annie Heloise (1873-1947) American historian, research materials, 6 feet, 1930's
 Burton, Jean (1905-1952) author and editor; letters, manuscripts, scrapbooks, legal documents, 8 inches, 1927-1952
 Cheney, Nan Lawson, correspondence, photos and clippings

pertaining to the activities of Emily Carr (1871-1945) and clippings on British Columbia artists, 1 1/2 feet, 1930-1974
 Faculty Women's Club, University of British Columbia, records, 1919-1967
 Johns, Ethel (1879-1968) nurse, notebooks, correspondence, photos, manuscripts, 1906-1966; material relating to the establishment of the School of Nursing, University of British Columbia; research for a history of the Johns Hopkins School of Nursing; and an autobiography; ca. 2 feet
 Ravenhill, Alice (1859-1954) lecturer and author, papers, 1 foot, 1939-1954
 School of Nursing, University of British Columbia, records, 7 inches, 1919-1973
 Smith, Evelyn Grey, papers, minutes, correspondence and clippings relating to the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation activities, 4 1/2 feet, 1949-1951
 Thomas, Audrey (1935-) novelist; papers, manuscripts and correspondence relating to her literary career, 6 feet, ca. 1950-1973
 Williams, Mary Elizabeth (1877-) writer and music teacher; manuscripts, poetry and prose, 2 inches
 Vancouver Council of Women, 12 feet, 1901-1970
 Wilson, Ethel Davis Bryant (1877-) author; manuscripts, poetry and prose, 1935-1950
 Women's Christian Temperance Union, Vancouver, scrapbooks and printed material, 4 feet, 1950-1970

The Library also has oral history tapes of approximately 50 interviews with women in church and political work, and as members of ethnic and social groups.

All the photographs in this article are from the California Historical Society Library.

Book Reviews

Old San Francisco: The Biography of a City from Early Days to the Earthquake

By Doris Muscatine. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975. 480 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, reviews editor.

It has been ten years since Oscar Lewis published the last popular history of San Francisco (*San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*). Since then a new generation of academic historians has focused attention on the roots of today's "urban crisis." Scholars have become increasingly concerned with the under-side of American history—the racial prejudice, economic exploitation and environmental damage that accompanied the nation's remarkable economic and population growth. It is not surprising, then, that the latest popular history of the city, Doris Muscatine's *Old San Francisco*, is a very different book than Lewis's earlier work. While this difference is partially due to the two authors' differing personalities and interests, it also is a reflection of changes in social values and viewpoints that have occurred during the last decade.

Of the two books, *Old San Francisco* has a more serious and scholarly tone. Muscatine scrupulously avoids the boosterism and romantic nostalgia so often associated with local histories. She neither neglects San Francisco's economic growth and development nor does she ignore the city's long list of colorful characters and customs, but such subjects are balanced by accounts of substantial racism, rampant materialism, and social upheaval. Muscatine is not afraid to go into detail; while Lewis covered the city's entire history in 275 pages, Muscatine takes 480 pages to bring us up to 1906. (She currently is working on a second volume that will cover the period since 1906.)

Consistent with much recent historical writing, *Old San Francisco* is primarily a social and cultural history. The book's organization is largely topical rather than chronological, and Muscatine's scope is always broad. We learn about the menus and recipes of the city's pioneer restaurants as well as the careers of the movers and shakers in commerce, finance, and transportation. There are accounts of the development of fine arts, architecture, and literature as well as a discussion of the rise of organized labor. Politics, that most traditional of historical subjects, is given the least complete coverage. The political battles of the

gold rush and Civil War periods are treated in detail, but the immense power of Boss Chris Buckley is virtually ignored, and the reformist mayoralities of Adolph Sutro and James Phelan are mentioned only in passing.

The book lacks consistent focus and an over-all perspective. In her introduction Muscatine claims that San Francisco's status as an instant city with a cosmopolitan population created "a more liberal environment" than otherwise might have been the case. She contends that "necessity created a tolerance for difference . . ." and that the city's chaotic past resulted in a "capacity to adapt, to deal with the unexpected. . . ." These themes are stated rather than demonstrated, and they are not always consciously carried through the narrative. The result is that too often the book appears to be very well-written encyclopedia in which all factual material is given equal weight and granted equal significance.

In spite of its faults, *Old San Francisco* is a work of great value. Muscatine has synthesized a remarkable amount of historical data into an intelligent, readable narrative. Her book is a solid piece of serious local history, useful both to scholars and general readers. I, for one, eagerly await publication of the second volume.

The Pattern of California History.

By Edward Staniford. (New York: Canfield Press, 1975. vii, 648 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by Brad Luckingham, associate professor of history, Arizona State University, Tempe, and author of numerous articles on western history.

The Pattern of California History will probably become one of the standard texts in its field. Covering the story of the state to 1975, it is written in a pleasant style, and it incorporates a decent amount of recent research. The illustrations, although few, enhance the presentation.

The prospect of reading 648 pages may frighten some students, but considering the survey's scope it is kept to a reasonable length. The overdose of facts and the coverage of seemingly countless topics also may disturb many

students, but little of importance is omitted. It is light on interpretation, heavy on narrative. In the end, it remains a profile history, and the author admits it is "neither complete nor definitive."

This book is not for the specialist. It is primarily designed for the beginning college student and "casual readers." It is concerned with essentials, and they are covered simply and well enough to encourage a wide examination of the material presented.

Considering the competition in the field, and it is substantial, the organization of this book is a bit unique. For those who prefer a "short history," they can read certain parts of each chapter without losing "the basic patterns and the main line of developments." Those preferring the "topical approach" can follow particular subject headings through each designated phase of California history. A convenient summary of the period concludes each part.

This survey, like others, has strengths and weaknesses. It happily goes more heavily into economic history than most other texts. Political and social history is covered well, but not necessarily better than others. Ethnic and urban history receive attention, and the story of women is noted, but more could be done in these areas, especially in the realm of problems and conflict. For example, the Watts outrage (1965) is given one paragraph, but in fairness to the author this is a dilemma all textbook writers face: how to cram it all in and still make it meaningful. The bibliography, "a basic list of selected materials for additional information," is disappointing, but restrictions may have been imposed on the author. For the beginning student, a genuine plus is that Staniford provides clear and direct descriptions of complicated parts of California history, for example, the 1918 elections. Another excellent point worth mentioning (and there are many) are the sections on the role of the family throughout California history. The author should be commended for bringing forth such an interesting and exciting theme.

Perhaps the strongest aspect of the book is the coverage of the post-World War II years. The period from 1945 to 1975 makes up about 20 per cent of the pages. This emphasis on the more recent history of the Golden State provides a refreshing advantage that should be much appreciated by students, instructors, and others, including "casual readers." Overall, Staniford, a teacher at Chabot College, has compiled a very useful survey, and it deserves a serious look. How it will eventually rank in the polls of California history texts remains to be seen.

The Chicano

Edited by Norris Hundley, Jr. (Santa Barbara: Clio Books, 1975. 168 pp. Cloth \$9.50, paper \$4.75.)

Reviewed by Juan Gómez-Quinones, associate professor of history and director of the Chicano studies center at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The Chicano, edited by Norris Hundley, is a collection of nine articles on Chicano history published in three issues of the *Pacific Historical Review*; it includes a foreword by the Mexican scholar Miguel León-Portilla and an introduction by Matt Meier and Feliciano Rivera written for the present edition. For the most part the essays represent views from the "outside" rather than from the "inside," to use León-Portilla's distinction. As a whole they uphold the professional editorial standards readers have come to expect from the *Pacific Historical Review*. Though judgment may vary on individual essays, the collection enriches the dialogue on Chicano history and is a positive contribution to the recent and relatively increasing number of writings on the Chicano.

Three essays deal with the writing of history. Arthur Corwin, the perfect foil for Chicano historians, provides his assessment of Mexican American history and its status, an assessment which is biased and not well-informed; further, it appears he is indebted to other earlier overviews of the literature. The essay has two values: one is that it is the most comprehensive expression of the view which stresses the assimilation—twentieth-century migrant history framework; the second value is that it leaves no doubt as to how one segment of the professions views ethnic history, militants, and Chicano studies and how these views, though expressed snidely and meanly, can be communicated with a professional facade of objectivity. Professor Rodolfo Acuña challenges the assertions of Corwin, pointing out that his views are uninformed and polemical. With characteristic common sense, Carey McWilliams puts into perspective the genesis of *North From Mexico*, the classic which is the historiographical point of departure for revisionist writings on the Chicano.

Six essays focus on specific research topics. Félix D. Almaráz traces the early years of the late Carlos E. Castañeda, librarian and historian. His article is among the first attempts at an intellectual biography of a Mexican American. Though we learn of Castañeda's financial and

family travails or, more exactly, we read with the impression that his early professional life was one constant appeal for financial assistance to Eugene C. Barker, there is little that leads to understanding the man, his ideas, or the effects of his milieu on him or his work. William B. Taylor and Elliot West provide one of the more insightfully fresh essays. Skillfully using a variety of sources, they examine *patrón* leadership in relation to the needs of a people and a changing social, demographic, and economic environment. Their essay is a contribution to the study of leadership and social-political history of the nineteenth century. Both are needed. Charles Wollenberg adds to the growing study of labor by narrating events of the Pacific Electric Strike of 1903, which he sees as precursory. His article is well done. The railroad workers and the strike, however, are only a part, not the precursors, of twentieth-century migration or class conflict. Abraham Hoffman judiciously describes a deportation drive in Los Angeles which occurred prior to the repatriations during the depression. Many people associate the Mexican only with the greater Southwest; the Midwest Mexicano is overlooked in the literature and in peoples' consciousness. Neil Betten and Raymond Mohl examine life in Gary, Indiana, during the twenties and thirties. Their work, along with the publications of Francisco Rosales, Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, and Gilberto Cardenas, add to our knowledge of the Chicano community in the Midwest. Richard Nostrand discusses the always available question on the self-reference of Mexicans. He pursued it by sending questionnaires to managers of Chambers of Commerce and, later, parish priests, and others. Questions of surveying methodology aside, Nostrand concludes that self-reference term usage is related to historical experience, region, age, and class. Since the term "Mexican American" and "Chicano" are receiving wider acceptance per his survey, the "minority is coming of age." Turning the condescension around, one may ask when are social science studies of this type coming of age? Perhaps what is coming of age is not the Mexican community but the "experts" who study it.

The Chicano is transitional yet firmly pegged on traditional scholarship within the context of the historiography on the Mexican in the United States. Transitional because it has left behind the Justin Smith, Frank Dobie, Carey McWilliams era and because implicitly each of the writers tries to respond to questions raised by Mexicanos since the late sixties on their own history. Yet none of these essays embraces the revisionist school in Chicano history. Theirs is

traditional scholarship because none of the essays depart from Leopold von Ranke's postulate *wie es eigentlich gewesen*; there are no flights into new methodologies, conceptualization, theorizing, or social concern.

A Gardener Touched with Genius: The Life of Luther Burbank.

By Peter Dreyer. (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1975. 322 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

*Reviewed by Robert Ornduff, professor of botany,
University of California, Berkeley.*

When I was a child my inclinations toward natural history led me to include in my canon of saints semi-mythological names (to me, at least) such as Roy Chapman Andrews, George Washington Carver, and Luther Burbank. As I developed into a professional biologist, Luther Burbank was banished from my hagiology. His reliance on intuition and avoidance of the rapidly developing field of Mendelian genetics in his breeding programs, his failure to maintain accurate records, his belief in psychic phenomena, and his subsequent embrace by the Lysenkoists all served to exclude him from the realm of science. He *was* unscientific or, better, non-scientific in his approach to plant breeding. In many respects, his methods were hit-and-miss, and failures doubtless outnumbered his successes in producing plant varieties of horticultural merit. Most of us have forgotten the Rutland Plumcot, Japanese Golden Mayberry, Wonderberry, and white blackberries—Burbankian "creations" that have faded into obscurity. However, the Russet Burbank potato (still the most widely grown potato in the United States), the Santa Rosa plum, and the Shasta daisy are still with us and represent a few of Burbank's successes. Had Burbank adopted scientific methods, would he have left an even richer horticultural heritage? I doubt it; my guess is that we would have had even less from him, but my arguments in support of this view are not appropriate to present here.

Dreyer, I think, is too concerned with Burbank's image as a scientist versus, for example, his image as an astute businessman, a successful plant breeder, a "wizard," an object of adulation, or an out-and-out charlatan. I do not

Heavy-laden cherry tree branches were inspected by Luther Burbank (at left) and fellow horticulturist W. Atlee Burpee on his visit to Burbank's remarkable Santa Rosa gardens. BANCROFT LIBRARY



think that it is important whether Burbank was or was not a scientist; Mendel, Darwin, deVries (who visited Burbank), and others who have figured prominently in the development of genetics—a field that many accused Burbank of ignoring—are also culpable. Each held ideas totally inappropriate to modern biology and, in some instances, promulgated theories that were unjustified in their times. Nevertheless, Dreyer makes frequent incursions into science that are relevant, accurate, and historically interesting in themselves if not in relation to Burbank and his work.

During his lifetime, Burbank received substantial support nationally as well as locally. Thomas Edison, Phoebe A. Hearst, and John Muir were admitted admirers. Practical effects of Burbank's influence (aside from his "plant creations") were the establishment of the Institute of Forest Genetics at Placerville and his indirect role in the passage of the first national Plant Patent Law.

Despite my emphasis on Burbank's scientific merits or lack of them, and the prominence that Dreyer gives these, the book also provides a readable, often fascinating, human account of the life of the man. Burbank was born in Massachusetts of solid New England stock, but as a young man migrated alone to California where he spent the rest of his life. This biography deals with Burbank's personal life as well as his life with plants and brings to light material that was unavailable to previous biographers. In his time, Burbank was a man of national importance and a controversial figure. Dreyer's critical and perceptive biography presents, as another reviewer has put it, a definitive account of Burbank, "warts and all." Dreyer maintains that had Burbank lived fifty years earlier, he would have been regarded as the father of American horticulture. True, but Burbank was not a child of his time, nor was he a tragic figure in his time. He would not be forced into a mold that others made for him, but I believe that he did not suffer for it. He was a creative, prolific, financially successful, intuitive plant breeder of international note. I doubt that he wanted more for himself.

A reprint edition of Roy Bainer's 449-page text, *The Engineering of Abundance: An Oral History Memoir* (Oral History Center, University of California, Davis, 1975), reviewed in the Spring, 1976, issue of the *Quarterly*, is now available for \$17.00 plus tax and postage from the author, 623 Miller Drive, Davis, CA 95616.

California Check List

Gary Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Bliss, Carey S. *The Willow Dale Press, 1879. With Notes on the History of Amateur Printing in California*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 21 pp. illus. \$22.50.
- Bohagl, Charles A. *Mount Diablo, The "Devil" Mountain of California* (revised). Antioch: author, 1975. 20 pp. illus. maps. \$2.25. Author, P.O. Box 817, Antioch, Ca. 94509.
- Book, Susan W. *The Chinese in Butte County, California, 1860-1920*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1976. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94112.
- Brant, Michelle. *Timeless Walks in San Francisco* (second printing). Richmond: Lompa Press, 1975. 80 pp. illus. \$3.50. Author, P.O. Box 68, Point Richmond, Ca. 94807.
- Casebier, Dennis G. *The Mojave Road*. Norco, Ca.: Tales of the Mojave Road Publishing Company, 1975. 192 pp. illus. maps. \$18.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 307, Norco, Ca. 91760.
- Crump, Spencer. *California's Spanish Missions: Their Yesterdays and Today's*. Corona del Mar: Trans-Anglo Book, [1975]. 95 pp. illus. \$6.95.
- De Witt, Howard A. *Anti-Filipino Movement in California: A History, Bibliography and Study Guide*. San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1976. \$8.00.
- Fiske, Turbesé Lummiis and Lummiis, Keith. *Charles F. Lummiis: The Man and His West*. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. 230 pp. illus. \$17.50.
- Garate, Donald T. *Red Rock to Ravendale: Memories of a Northern California Community*. Ravendale: by the author, 1975? 288 pp. illus. \$8.50.
- Gibson, Wayne Dell. *The Olive Mill: Orange County's Pioneer Industry*. Santa Ana: Orange County Historical Society, 1975. 63 pp. illus. \$11.95. Publisher, 2002 N. Main Street, Santa Ana, California 92706.
- Haas, Robert B. *Muybridge: Man in Motion*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 288 pp. illus. \$18.50.
- Held, Ruth Varney. *Beach Town: Early Days in Ocean Beach*. San Diego: by the author, 1975. 175 pp. illus. \$7.50. Author, Box 7734, San Diego, Ca. 92107.
- Kunkler, Anita. *Hardscrabble: A Narrative of the California Hill Country* (edited by Wilbur Shepperson). Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975. 252 pp. \$5.00.
- Laval, Jerome D. *As "Pop" Saw it. Photographs of the San Joaquin Valley*. Fresno: Graphic Technology Co., 1976. 240 pp. illus. \$15.95. Publisher, 1899 N. Helm Suite 103, Fresno Ca. 93727.
- Leavitt, Jerome. *Herbert Sonn. Yosemite's "Bird Man."* Fresno: Jerome Leavitt Publishing and Educational Services, 1976. 15 pp. illus. \$1.00. Publisher, 1338 E. Almendra Drive, Fresno, Ca. 93710.
- Likes, Robert C. and Day, Glenn R. *From This Mountain—Cerro Gordo*. Bishop: Chalfant Press Inc., 1975. 86 pp. illus. \$6.50. Publisher, 450 East Line St., Bishop, Ca. 93514.
- McGinty, Brian. *Haraszthy at the Mint*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1975. 60 pp. illus. \$8.50.
- McKay, Leonard. *Luis Maria Peralta and His Adobe*. San Jose: Smith-McKay Printing Company, 1976. Illus. maps. \$15.00. Publisher, 180 W. St. James Street, San Jose, Ca. 95110.
- Magee, David. *Bibliography of the Grabhorn Press, 1915-1956* (reprint). San Francisco: Alan Wolsky Fine Arts [1976]. \$75.00. Publisher, 150 Green Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94111.
- Marquez, Ernest. *Port Los Angeles: A*

- Phenomenon of the Railroad Era*. San Marino: Golden West Books, 1975. 142 pp., illus. maps. \$12.95.
- Martin, Thomas S. *With Frémont to California and the Southwest. 1845-1849* (edited by Ferol Eagan). Ashland: Lewis Osborne, 1975. 48 pp. \$22.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 647, Ashland, Oregon 97520.
- Mason, Jack. *Earthquake Bay. A History of Tomales Bay, California*. Inverness: North Shore Books, 1976. 166 pp. illus. \$6.00.
- Mathes, W. Michael (trans. and ed.). *Spanish Approaches to the Island of California, 1628-1632*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1975. 76 pp. \$32.50.
- Northrop, Marie R. *Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California: 1769-1850*. New Orleans: Polyanthos Inc., 1976. 350 pp. illus. \$20.00. Publisher, 811 Orleans St., New Orleans, Louisiana 70116.
- O'Neal, Lulu R. *The History of Ramona, California and Environs*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1976. 64 pp. illus. \$1.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, Ca. 92055.
- Page, Charles Hall. *Parkway Plaza [Napa] Historic Preservation Study*. San Francisco: Charles Hall Page and Associates, 1975. 88 pp. illus. \$6.50. Publisher, 400 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94104.
- Peterson, Robert H. *Altadena's Golden Years: A Pictorial History of the Early Community*. Altadena: by the author, 1976. 98 pp. illus. \$5.75. Author, P.O. Box 182, Altadena, Ca. 91001.
- Ross, Dudley T. *Devil on Horseback, A Biography of Jack Powers*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1975. 185 pp. illus. \$7.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, Ca. 93721.
- Scharf, Thomas L. and Engstrand, Iris Wilson (compilers). *Index to the Journal of San Diego History. Vols I-XX, 1955-1975*. San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1975. 73 pp. \$7.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 81825, San Diego, Ca. 92138.
- Shaver, Helen Turner. *History of First Presbyterian Church of Marysville, 1850-1975*. [Marysville; First Presbyterian Church, 1976.] 143 pp. Publisher, Sampson Street, Marysville, Ca. 95901.
- Smith, Louie A. *Reclamation: A History of the Linda-Olivehurst Area of California 1850-1975*. Marysville; by the author, 1975. 111 pp. illus.
- Solari, Agnes and Zaro, Margaret. *San Jose's St. Joseph's*. San Jose: by the authors, 1976. 80 pp. illus. \$3.95. Authors, P.O. Box 8066, San Jose, Ca. 95155.
- Stanley, Leo L. *San Miguel at the Turn of the Century*. Paso Robles: Friends of the Adobes, Inc., 1976. illus. \$12.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 293, Paso Robles, Ca. 93446.
- Stanton, William. *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 433 pp. illus. \$14.95.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *The Amateur Emigrant, with some first Impression of America* (edited by Roger G. Swearington). Ashland, Oregon: Lewis Osborne, 1976. 112 pp. \$27.50.
- Stindt, Fred A. *San Francisco's Decorated Cable Cars*. Pacific Coast Chapter of the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, 1975. 32 pp. illus.
- Urrutia, Carlos Lopez. *Episodios Chilenos en California, 1849-1860*. Valparaiso, Chile: Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso, 1974. 202 pp. illus.
- Van Nostrand, Jeanne. *San Francisco, 1806-1906. In Contemporary Paintings, Drawings and Watercolors*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1975. illus. \$75.00.
- Watson, Delmar. *Quick Watson, the Camera: Seventy-five Years of News Photography*. Hollywood: by the author, 1975. illus. \$12.95. Publisher, 6762 Hawthorn Ave., Hollywood, Ca. 90028.
- Wentz, Roby. *Western Printing. A Selective and Descriptive Bibliography of Books and other Materials on the History of Printing in the Western States, 1822-1975*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1975. 90 pp. illus. \$12.50.
- Wojcik, Donna M. *The Brazen Overlanders of 1845*. Portland: by the author, 1976. 400 pp. illus. maps. \$19.95.
- Author, 5765 N. Haight, Portland, Ore. 97217.
- Woodward, O. J. *A History of Swimming and Diving in Fresno (1890-1975)*. Fresno: Fresno Unified School District, 1976. 44 pp. illus.



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A. L. Kroeber

With a Foreword by Theodora Kroeber

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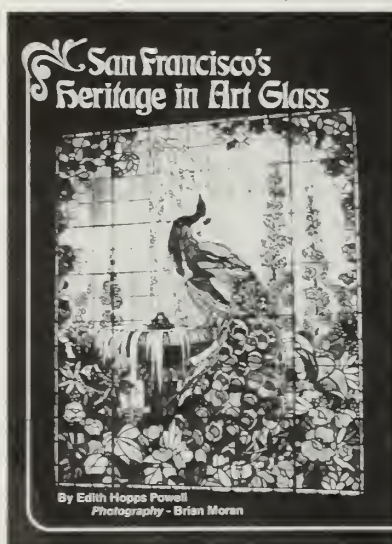
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COVER: A restless traveler who pursued adventure and experience throughout his short life, California-born author Jack London and his wife Charmian always returned to their idyllic Sonoma retreat at Glen Ellen. A pictorial essay of previously unpublished photographs from London family albums begins on page 218. The article contains narrative and excerpts from London's published works and personal letters which explore the private life and emotional odyssey of one of California's greatest authors.

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Gertrude Atherton

Gertrude Atherton, acknowledged by a contemporary critic as "the ablest woman writer of fiction"¹ of her day, began her career in 1888, and for nearly six decades her provocative examinations of women's issues and concerns secured her a large and devoted female following. A prolific writer, she produced dozens of novels, five volumes of short stories, three collections of essays, a history of California and two books about San Francisco, a selection of Alexander Hamilton's letters, and a book of memoirs, in addition to countless articles published in popular magazines. Many of her novels sold tens of thousands of copies, a number became best selling books in the 1920's, and seven novels were filmed in Hollywood before her death at age ninety-one in 1948.

Described as a "story-chronicler" of California, Atherton wrote novels set in nearly every decade of the state's history. She examined slices of western life ranging from the pre-Yankee Mexican age (*The Splendid Idle Forties*, 1902) and the rise and decline of the new millionaires in the 1870's and 1880's (*The Californians*, 1898) to the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 (*The Avalanche*, 1919) and events "in the year of our Roosevelt, 1938" (*The House of Lee*, 1940).² Together, her stories form a unique saga of western American experience.

Today Atherton's popularity as a novelist has waned, and her works are reviewed primarily for the facts of social history and custom they contain rather than for their literary merit. The remarkable outpouring of this strong-willed, unconventional American writer of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, has yet

to be reviewed from a feminist perspective, an approach which would surely suit the outspoken Atherton.

Atherton was a woman writing about women in another, earlier era of feminist awareness. She made feminine emancipation a major theme of her work and dealt with it in personal, social, and sexual as well as in political and economic terms. In her life and writings she consistently expressed concern with women's overt struggles to break out of traditional feminine roles—battles which pitted her heroines against the institutions of marriage, motherhood, religion, and conventional morality. As her work developed, she focused increasingly upon women's inner struggles, their efforts to free themselves emotionally from old feminine ideals and dreams which narrowed their interests, limited their aspirations, and hampered their development as individuals.

Atherton's work provides an interesting and significant delineation of the New Woman, a much talked about ideal which embodied the growing aspirations of emancipated women at the turn of the century.³ Much of the motive power of her novels derived from her impassioned protest against the domestic, sentimental, moral, and religious pieties which commonly surrounded both the social vision and fictional portrayal of women in the nineteenth century. In her fiction she tried to create a new image of femininity which encompassed the new independence and self-assertion notable among spirited women of her time.

The image of woman presented in Atherton's novels contradicted most of the notions of femininity fostered by the genteel tradition.⁴ Her heroines refused to see their place as being in the home and took no interest whatsoever in domestic matters. They frequently

Ms. Forrey is an assistant professor at Empire State College, Northeast Regional Learning Center, State University of New York, Albany.

& the New Woman

espoused careers considered masculine, including journalism, politics, diplomacy, and business. Although some of them married, none considered marriage and motherhood to be their supreme destiny. They did not typically have children, nor did they instinctively love the children of others. Neither fragile nor weak, they were California women, vigorously healthy and given to much exercise in the open air. As young girls they refused to be little ladies and were active, spirited, often defiant children who usually identified with their fathers rather than with their mothers. They had no desire to be sheltered from the evils of the world, but, rather, were intensely curious about all aspects of life; not only intelligent, they were deeply committed to developing their minds. They made no claim as women to any spiritual or moral superiority over men, and they were neither pious, moralistic, nor sentimental. Like Atherton, they rejected traditional religion in light of Darwin and Spencer and looked instead for guidance to their own intelligence and instincts. They disregarded the cult of virginity, resented the double standard, and generally disdained moral codes and social conventions, smoking and drinking without any loss of self-respect. Atherton's women stood in striking contrast to the ideal formulated earlier in the century (and portrayed, for instance, in the pages of *Godey's Lady's Book*, T. S. Arthur's *Home Magazine*, or the novels of Fanny Fern) of woman as pure princess of the home—devoted to serving the interests of family, dependent upon husband for strength and superior wisdom, possessed with instinctive virtue, and repelled by the coarse arena of the outside world.

Yet while her heroines lacked femininity in traditional terms, Atherton insisted upon their essential womanliness, especially upon their sexuality. Even before novelist

Kate Chopin, she called attention to the erotic feelings of women and stressed the importance of sex as a motive power in human life. No man-hating feminists, her heroines were sexually attracted to men and enjoyed masculine companionship. Above all they were themselves sexually attractive. Discarding the dark lady-fair heroine concept, Atherton tried in her portrayal of women to combine sexuality with strong character and a capacity for the most exalted kind of love.

By today's standards, of course, Atherton's novels thoroughly romanticized the New Woman. An Atherton heroine was typically beautiful with absurdly powerful sexual appeal. In addition she possessed high intelligence and extraordinary power of will that practically assured her success in any undertaking. Invariably, too, she was of distinguished ancestry—a conventional note in an age obsessed with heredity and race. But Atherton was not portraying the average American woman in her novels; she was trying to create the image of an ideal New Woman who would deal triumphantly with the problems peculiar to woman's experience.

However romanticized, Atherton heroines became vital characters, for Atherton frequently portrayed with perception and honesty the inner life of women, their real feelings in an age when cultural tradition dictated what their feelings ought to be. She most successfully rendered the intense craving for life of her female characters, whether they were sensitive and lonely young girls confined by parental restrictions, discontented wives chafing under the bonds of an unhappy marriage, or aging women seeing life slip away from them.

Woman's search for fulfillment through a broader participation in life lay at the heart of Atherton's fiction. While she stacked the cards in favor of her heroines, she

offered no easy solutions for finding happiness. In novel after novel she explored various courses which a woman might take, imagining the struggles, frustrations, and satisfactions met along each new path.

In seeking fuller and more varied roles, the Atherton heroines had continually to fight traditional beliefs about a woman's nature and role—beliefs held by their parents, their husbands and lovers, society, their professions, and most fundamentally, themselves. They had to free themselves emotionally as well as intellectually from the old images of femininity in order to find their individual identities as New Women. Atherton stressed that their most difficult hurdle lay in the ideal of romantic love. Frequently, when all their practical battles had been won, they found themselves hoping for and half expecting an ideal lover to bring them perfect fulfillment. Only after intensely disillusioning experiences did they come to separate the romantic myth from the human reality of love. And only after they had freed themselves of their emotional dependence upon false dreams were they wholeheartedly able to explore other interests and create new dreams.

Atherton's own experiences and self-conceptions shaped the image of the New Woman which appears in her fiction. In creating her heroines she often combined autobiography with idealized self-images. More importantly, in her fiction she seems to have tried to work out ambiguities and dilemmas she met in her own life. In looking at her as a writer, as well as at the age in which she lived, we may better understand the forces which molded the series of Atherton heroines that proved to be so popular with women of the time.

The materials requisite for a critical biography of Atherton apparently do not exist. The San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 destroyed the papers from the first forty-nine years of her life. The rest are scattered

in libraries across the country. The largest collection, given to the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, by her daughter, Muriel Atherton Russell, covers only the years 1920 to 1948 and reveals little about Atherton's personal life. Her own conception of her life as presented in her memoirs, *Adventures of a Novelist*, published in 1932, however, reveals a great deal about the way in which she chose to shape her own life and personality as well as about the imagination which created the New Woman figures in her novels.

In presenting her life and personality in her memoirs, which are a kind of creative fiction, Atherton consistently stressed two facets of herself: one which might be called womanly in traditional terms, and one which emphasized the qualities of the New Woman. On the one hand, she laid great emphasis upon her social life, particularly upon her relationships with men. On the other hand, she presented herself as a professional woman: strong and independent, disinterested in marriage and domesticity, committed to artistic and intellectual life and to her career. As a result, she created an image of herself as a woman who had been able to combine the best of two worlds, successfully competing with men in the professional sphere while retaining her special appeal as a woman.

Atherton took great pride in her status as an independent, professional woman, and in her memoirs she stressed those qualities which set her apart from women content to remain in the domestic sphere. Even in recalling her childhood, she made it quite clear that she had never been an ordinary little girl. Gertrude Franklin Horn was born in San Francisco in 1857, less than ten years after the gold rush. Most of her early years were spent on her grandfather's ranch some sixty miles south of the city. Although her family strove for a high level of cultivation, they lived in a comparatively wild and unsettled land, and the young Gertrude appears to have been a wild and unsettled girl. Atherton characterizes herself as having been "a little fiend" and chronicled her



In her mid-forties when this elegant portrait was taken in 1903, Atherton remained partial to low-cut gowns and feminine poses.

early rebellions against the efforts of her mother and grandmother to make her into a little lady. When her grandmother dressed her in dainty clothes to meet guests, she would run outside and roll in a puddle. Daily she defied her family by playing with two barefoot neighbors whose companionship was forbidden to her. She refused to learn to sew, even when her grandmother tied her to a chair during sewing lessons and read her fairy tales to keep her quiet. Once she wrote compositions for a school friend in order to get the friend to sew buttons on the budding writer's boots.

Atherton saw herself as having been a precocious and imaginative child, well suited to become a writer. She was able to read and spell at four, and she spent hours in front of a hall mirror telling herself stories of wild adventure. Her teachers praised her compositions, and she early conceived the ambition of becoming an author. She relished the envy and awe with which schoolmates regarded her talent. Characteristically, Atherton saw her childhood boisterousness as an aid to her later success:

I am not so sure that an egocentric childhood—when combined with a strong will—is a bad beginning for one whom life has destined for a career. One at least does not start out in life with an inferiority complex. . . . If one has that inner conviction, however illogical it may seem at the time, that one *must* succeed (i.e., have one's own way), that the reverse is unthinkable, pertinacity is as natural as confidence, and the battle is half won.⁵

Two figures stand prominently in Atherton's account of her early life. One was her mother, who provided her with a model of femininity defined not in terms of marriage and motherhood but in terms of courtship and romance. Atherton's mother had grown up on a plantation in New Orleans, and she always saw her as a Southern belle, "very beautiful, vivacious, flirtatious, fascinating, with a naturally brilliant mind and not an ounce of common sense."⁶ Gertrude's mother had been divorced from her husband, Thomas Horn, when Gertrude was three, and Atherton vividly remembered

the number of buggies hitched outside her grandfather's ranch on Sundays, when her mother's new suitors drove sixty miles from San Francisco to pay court. Her mother remarried eventually, but her second marriage lasted hardly longer than her first, for her second husband turned out to be a gambler and an embezzler ("rotten to the core," Atherton described him) who fled the country. Gertrude's mother—romantic and emotionally dependent upon men although twice unsuccessful in marriage—made a fetish of her beauty and desperately tried to preserve the appearance of youth. Atherton claimed that in observing her mother's distress at the aging process she had learned a valuable lesson: "I took a great interest in my own looks as I grew older, but made up my mind to have something to fall back on when they departed."⁷

That alternative to feminine charm was encouraged by Atherton's grandfather, Stephen Franklin, the second individual who stands out prominently in Atherton's account of her early life. As the only stable male figure in the family, he inspired great respect in his granddaughter. A great grandnephew of Benjamin Franklin, he had edited one of San Francisco's first newspapers and later served as secretary of the Bank of California. A cultured and well-read gentleman with a large private library, Stephen Franklin took charge of his granddaughter's education, sending her to a series of private schools and supervising her reading of history and literary classics at home. He inspired her intellectual aspirations and encouraged her schoolgirl ambitions to become an author, and her desire to win his regard seems to stand behind her ambition as a novelist. Franklin is the apparent model for the numerous kind and cultured gentlemen who befriend young girls in Atherton's novels, and despite the note of contempt for men evident in her fiction, Atherton's older men usually command respect.

In her memoirs Atherton dramatized her adolescent conflict between the roles inspired by her mother and her grandfather. She wanted to be a belle like her mother

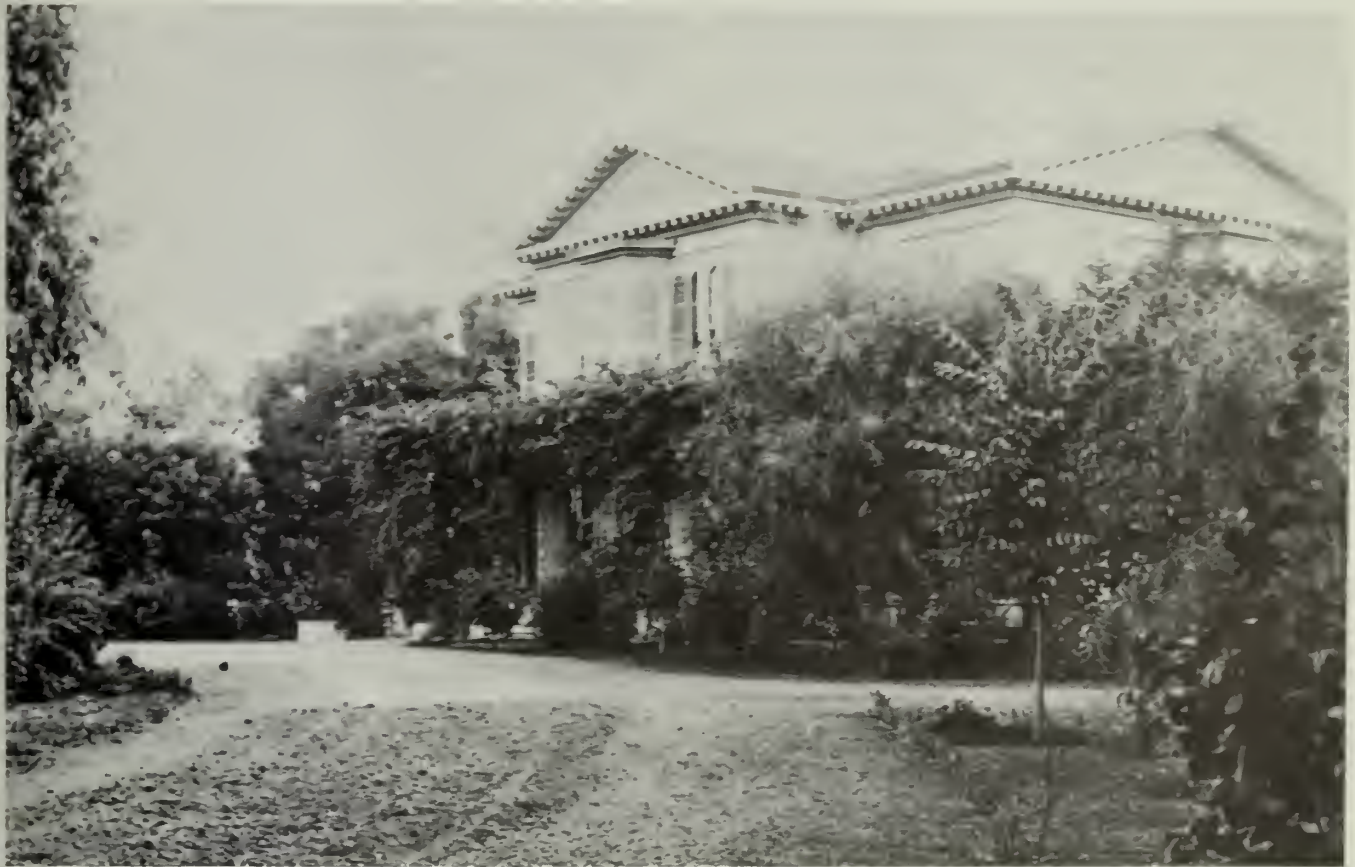
and be brought out into San Francisco society. Yet she also wanted to be an educated woman and a writer. At the age of seventeen she was sent to school at Sayre Institute in Kentucky where she acquired a string of beaux and shocked a strictly religious aunt by her aggressive and yet casual flirtatiousness. As she later explained, she had been merely practicing: "I wanted to be a 'belle' as my mother had been, and these rather mild young men were good material for practice."⁸

On her return to California a year later, her dreams of a grand social debut were destroyed by the failure of the Bank of California, which created a serious financial setback for the family. Dramatizing the desperateness of the situation was the suicide of William C. Ralston, founder and president of the bank and a close personal friend of her grandfather, who reacted to the disaster by swimming out into the Pacific to his death. Ralston's act, Atherton later claimed, gave the first jolt to her "inherited belief in the infallibility of the male." Until then, she believed that "he should have risen, omnipotent, above any disaster."⁹ Gertrude, after attending his funeral, reacted to her altered financial status by burying herself in books at her grandfather's ranch, determined to be a well-read and intellectual woman if she could not enjoy the social life of a debutante.

Gertrude did not yet give up any of her feminine dreams, however, and her voracious reading only reinforced the romantic streak in her imagination. She read Plato, whose image of love as two halves seeking an original unity in the *Symposium* made a deep impression upon her mind. She responded, too, to the heroic strain of the classical writers and to the sensibilities of the early-nineteenth century romantic poets, especially Byron. The popular romances of the day also influenced her, especially the novels of "Ouida" (Louise de la Ramée), a French writer whose sensational tales of decadent English aristocrats were immensely popular in America.¹⁰

Confined to the ranch during a dull, rainy winter and

Atherton's youthful marriage to her mother's suitor brought her to Valparaiso Park, the family home of Faxon Dean Atherton, which she despised for its isolation and provincial routines. Eadweard Muybridge photographed the estate c. 1870.



soon tired of vicarious living through books, Gertrude seized at a chance for romantic adventure in her own life. At the age of eighteen she eloped with George Atherton, her mother's current suitor. Describing the unusual episode in *Adventures of a Novelist*, she wrote:

For a moment I was dumbfounded, then furious, and threatened to jump out of the carriage. He whipped up the horse. I began to feel dazzled. Surely this was romance and drama. And the love of change, of variety, had been born in me, fostered by the rapidly shifting scenes of my crowded eighteen years. I felt like the heroine of a novel. And I wanted to wear trains and the little fancy evening caps then in vogue with married women. And where was I to meet another man, isolated on The Ranch? I might wilt away into spinster-

hood, always a burden on my grandfather. I should like to be able to say that I hesitated on account of my mother, but despite the high principles inculcated by my grandfather, I gave her not a thought. The truth of the matter is that I was over-developed mentally and in character had hardly progressed beyond that of a well-grown child, whose instinct it is to reach out and take what it wants. That I was about to commit a scoundrelly act never occurred to me; and if the old adage 'marry in haste and repent at leisure' had risen in my mind, it would have been but an added incentive to run counter to the teachings of wisdom. Certainly once more I was about to do something different.¹¹

Evidenced in this passage are Gertrude's rebelliousness against propriety and convention, eagerness for romantic

“A novelist
should know the world . . .
What opportunity have I to study it
in a hole like California.”

Atherton

adventure, naive social ambition, and willful selfishness. While not yet the image of the New Woman, especially in the fear of spinsterhood, it was hardly an image of genteel femininity. What is most notable about this passage, however, is what is left unstated. While Atherton emphatically denies any consideration for her mother, the incident itself—the elopement with her mother’s suitor—seems to indicate a strong if unconscious identification with her mother. While the mother is rarely mentioned in the last five hundred pages of *Adventures of a Novelist*, her image hovers over much of the story of Atherton’s later life.

From outward appearances Gertrude’s marriage was a good one. Her handsome husband belonged to a very wealthy and socially exclusive San Francisco family. His father, Faxon Dean Atherton (for whom Atherton, California, is named), held extensive lands in California, and the family lived on a Peninsula estate in Menlo Park acquired from the widow of Luis Argüello, the first Mexican Governor of California. Taken into the Atherton family, Gertrude entered the inner circles of San Francisco society, which she found initially gratifying after the years of social ostracism brought upon her own family by her mother’s divorce and her step-father’s embezzlement.

But the marriage, as Atherton portrayed it in her memoirs, soon left her feeling desolate and unproductive, providing her with no happiness or sense of fulfillment. Her husband, for whom she had no great love, is, in fact, hardly mentioned in the memoirs. He exists in her

pages only as a minor annoyance—incompetent, irresponsible, intellectually backward—a ridiculous figure who plagued her with his jealousy, his petty tyranny, his dull but demanding presence. The tone of respect with which she always referred to her grandfather is markedly lacking.

However, in her memoirs her complaints about her marriage focused less upon her dissatisfaction with her husband and more upon her own role within it. She hated the domestic routine which was supposed to be her major interest. The dominant force in the Atherton family proved to be her mother-in-law, Dominga de Goni Atherton, a strongly Catholic and conventional Spanish woman who firmly believed in the domestic role of women and read to Gertrude lectures stressing that “intellect had no place in women.”¹² But neither domesticity nor religion interested the young wife.

Gertrude soon bore two children—a son, George, who died at the age of six, and a daughter, Muriel, who became her companion in later years. Nurses cared for the children, however, and in her memoirs Gertrude did not recall having taken any satisfaction in motherhood. “The maternal instinct had been left out of me with the other domestic virtues,” she remarked.¹³ Life at Menlo Park failed to provide outlets for her intellectual interests, for the self-willed independence she had displayed as a child, or for the romantic fantasies she had nurtured as an adolescent. She worried that life was passing her by and complained: “A novelist should know the world. . . . What opportunity have I to study it in a hole like California.”¹⁴ As it did to other westerners, California seemed the most isolated outpost of civilization, and she became impatient to see the great centers of the world—New York, Paris and London.

In perceptive essays about turn-of-the-century radical women, historian Christopher Lasch observed the feminist impulse as being rooted in an “unconcealed abhorrence of everything connected with the middle-class family and with middle-class life in general, an abhor-

rence of which the envy of men, in fact, was probably a single facet."¹⁵ He found, as well, common yearnings for adventure and a larger experience of life among middle-class American women of intellectual ambitions. In writing of her early life, Jane Addams described the same horror of home as Atherton, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Margaret Sanger were both desperately unhappy in the domestic routine of their marriages. Certainly, Atherton stressed how much she had hated "the bourgeois standard" which had dominated family life with the Athertons and how she deeply resented her mother-in-law's attempts to mold her into a model Atherton wife. The "pressure of the religiously average," she called it, was directed toward stamping out her individuality.¹⁶

Disappointment with her married life turned Atherton back to the intellectual interests and aspirations fostered by her grandfather. Spurred by ambition, boredom, loneliness, and the hope of earning spending money of her own (the wealthy Athertons provided none), she began to write articles for the San Francisco *Argonaut*, a newly-fashionable weekly magazine. Soon she published a novel within its pages.

Atherton's writing had led her, without conscious intent, into a rudimentary feminist stand. Her marriage had placed her in circumstances where to be intellectual was to be "unfeminine," to write was to waste time better spent on suitable wifely duties, and to publish was indecent. Her husband fiercely resented her literary interests, and his family, who considered professional writing beneath their class, was shocked. Many pages of Atherton's memoirs detail the ensuing struggle between the aspiring artist and the disapproving bourgeois family. Atherton took to writing behind closed doors. After George's shipboard death, which she did not mourn,¹⁷ his mother, who held the family pursestrings, staunchly opposed Gertrude's determination to travel to New York for a literary career. Failing to discourage her, she insisted that Gertrude leave her daughter Muriel behind

*"California men might not be
intellectual giants,
but a chivalrous attitude toward women
was a tradition of the State,
and it never occurred to me
that it could be different elsewhere."*

Atherton

in California. Thus, as Atherton described it, to write meant defying her husband, rejecting the "feminine" responsibilities of home and family, and asserting herself as an individual whose interests were entirely opposed to those imposed upon her. Writing, furthermore, initially provided an escape from what she felt to be an intolerably restricted life, and in her fiction she could create the kinds of people she longed to meet and the kind of life she longed to lead. Writing also became for her a way of asserting her individuality, of integrating the fragments of her identity, and of demonstrating what she felt was her superiority to the people whose values she rejected.

Only after she had been freed from her marital bond did Gertrude Atherton begin, at the age of thirty, to live the ideal of the New Woman, pursuing an independent career outside the domestic circle and displaying energy, self-reliance, and power of initiative. And at first she found the new role difficult. Prominent publishers refused her early novels, and when they did appear, critics condemned them with tirades which she found personal, vituperative, and indecent. Like many women writers of the day seeking serious recognition, she chose a masculine pseudonym for her first novel, writing as Frank Lin, after her famous ancestor. Her publishers, however, revealed her identity in advance publicity for the book, and she believed she was unfairly treated by

the critics at least in part because she was a woman. Yet, in an odd reversal, what most offended her in the critical condemnations of her books was the lack of chivalry shown to her as a woman by men whom she considered her social and intellectual inferiors: "If their brains were too tired to accept a new idea, they were hardly to be blamed, but couldn't they be polite about it? The California men might not be intellectual giants, but a chivalrous attitude toward women was a tradition of the State, and it never occurred to me that it could be different elsewhere."¹⁸ Thus she came to her first realization that in venturing beyond what was considered the normal and proper sphere of women, she had unwittingly altered her position in the eyes of men. She had sacrificed her assurance of chivalrous treatment at their hands and made herself a target for what she interpreted as male resentment and "sex-jealousy" of women who competed for "masculine honors."

Abandoning the United States, Atherton, like fellow California author Joaquin Miller, traveled to Europe where curiosity about the American West brought her (and Miller) the recognition denied her in New York. Within a few years, she developed a considerable following in Britain and on the Continent, and she was on her way to professional success. Throughout the 1890's English critics such as William Robertson Nicoll, editor of the *Bookman*, the *British Weekly* and the *Expositor*, praised her work highly, and a reviewer for the *Spectator* acknowledged her to be "one of the most vivid and entertaining interpreters of the complex characteristics of emancipated womanhood."¹⁹

In the next decade Atherton finally began to win critical recognition in the United States as well. (Success abroad went a long way toward assuring recognition in the East that culture could emerge from the Far West.) Over the years American critics were never as enthusiastic about her work as the English, but she gained some outspoken supporters.²⁰ Many were particularly impressed with her exploration of the feminine psychol-

ogy.²¹ Several admired her "fearless" probing of the problems of sex. Others assessed her chief contributions to be her depiction of social environment and contemporary problems, viewing her as a piquant commentator on the times.²² Unfavorable reviewers criticized her for crudity of style and thought, lack of patriotism, patrician attitudes, immorality, and sensationalism.²³

Atherton's popular success, however, was undeniable. Her novels sold tens of thousands of copies, and although none came near to selling a million copies, many went through a number of printings.²⁴ Issued in England and Canada as well as in the United States, her books proved to be immensely popular in the German Tauchnitz editions, particularly with Americans traveling abroad.²⁵ Atherton was besieged by interviewers, and her comings and goings between the United States and Europe were dutifully reported in the newspapers. Competing publishers sought to secure her work, which she found especially gratifying after the humiliation of the early rejections and the taunting reviews.

As indicated by the title selected for her memoirs, *Adventures of a Novelist*, writing for Gertrude Atherton was an exciting enterprise. Combining work with travel, she liked to write each book in a new place, and she lived in all the centers of the world for which she had longed as a young woman in rural California. Already familiar with Europe, she served as a foreign correspondent for the *New York Times* in Paris during the First World War and even spent nine months in Hollywood as a scenario writer for Samuel Goldwyn. London society particularly appealed to her, and there she celebrated some of her greatest moments of triumph. Moving in literary, artistic, and political circles which satisfied her intellectual ambitions, she enjoyed the social life of a London season—its milieu of formal elegance so much in contrast



In the study of her fashionable San Francisco home, the 89-year-old New Woman surveyed her 56 publications and her portrait in the Gibson-girl style.

to the quiet and unostentatious social atmosphere of Menlo Park.

London society people she found especially stimulating for their different concepts of femininity and masculinity. American men seemed narrow and consequently dull, concerned exclusively with making money and forced by the increasing specialization in industrial society into ever more limited contact with life. Even more disturbing to her were American women who lacked, as she saw it, consuming occupations. Her wealthy American friends seemed unable to concentrate, and they struck her as being poorly educated and shallow. Those who did have careers seemed to her to develop "an unpleasant hardness."²⁶ Few American women seemed able to combine a variety of interests with serious thought, or independence and ambition with a gracious manner. In her London friends, on the other hand, she found both the breadth lacking in American men and the depth lacking in American women. Atherton noted with approval that the well-bred Englishman never seemed to let business become the paramount interest in his life. He avoided discussing

it, turning conversation instead to art, literature, politics and the world at large. English women struck her as being well educated, with an ability to combine wide-ranging interests with great powers of concentration, an independent development of mind with great personal charm. In her memoirs, which are full of famous names, Atherton fully detailed the personalities of unusually strong and gifted women.

Zealously writing, traveling, and socializing, Atherton never remarried, claiming that she found marriage and freedom incompatible. In a letter to an old school friend she explained in 1928: "I hate restraint of any kind and must be free to pack up and go somewhere else the moment the notion strikes me, or in behalf of a book."²⁷

Yet, much as Atherton valued her freedom and her career, much as she lived according to the ideal of the New Woman, she never freed herself from a romantic attachment to and emotional dependence upon men. Publically, at least, she engaged in no love affairs, and she herself claimed that she had never really been in love. Yet the idea of love possessed her imagination for most of her life, and at the heart of her fiction lay an ideal of

passionate union blessed with total intimacy, complete sympathy, and perfect understanding.

The kind of love which preoccupied her imagination seems to have eluded her in life. Writing of a man whom she had considered marrying early in her career, for instance, she reflected: "Again, I must have had some impossible standard, for, after the novelty of a new personality wore off, I always began to find the man full of childish absurdities, or falling short in this and that. To women with the famous maternal instinct these evidences of the eternal boy are all the more endearing, but not to me. I expected perfection and never found it. And, of course, I wanted to be 'understood.' All women want to be understood until they understand themselves."²⁸ Her impossible standard may have been linked with her relationship with her grandfather, but her romantic ideal must have been reinforced, too, by patriarchal Western culture. Atherton's fictional heroes are never callow youths, but experienced men of the world who relate not only amorously to the heroines but also with fostering regard verging on paternalism.

Despite her considerable success as a novelist, Atherton's self-conception continued to be very much dependent upon her sexual attractiveness. Portraits which appeared in magazines rarely show her working at her desk or hint that she was a professional woman. Typically she stands in a soft and elaborate formal gown—bare shouldered, in profile, holding a rose.²⁹ She seems never to have stopped wanting to be a belle with a flock of men at her feet, though she conceived of the role in more sophisticated terms as she grew older. Perhaps the phrase which best describes the self-image she cultivated is one which she applied to a fictional heroine: an "intellectual siren."

Women in history who were renowned both for their intelligence and their feminine charm, who combined achievement outside the feminine sphere with success in love, fascinated Atherton. Aspasia, the famous mistress of Pericles whose beauty, intellectual charms, and

political influence won the admiration of the philosophers of Athens, became the heroine of *The Immortal Marriage*, an historical novel of 1927. Two other women of the past—Madame de Staël and Madame Récamier—also fascinated Atherton.³⁰ Both conducted outstanding literary and political salons in Paris around the time of the French Revolution, and both women, married young and unhappily, maintained friendships and love affairs with some of the most gifted and influential men of their day. Madame Récamier, renowned for her beauty, charm, and conversation, reputedly never lost her attraction for men, even when beset with old age, ill health, and loss of fortune. Madame de Staël won fame as an author, a theorist of Romanticism, and a personal enemy of Napoleon, as well as for her salon, her intelligence and wit, and her lovers. Even in their own time de Staël and Récamier were acknowledged symbols of the union of mind and beauty, of genius and passion.³¹ For Atherton these three women represented an ideal of social, intellectual, political, literary, and sexual success, and she frequently made references to them in her fiction and public life.

That Atherton, whose fictional heroines are the ideal New Women, should have been drawn to exceptional women of history, is not surprising. The historian Mary Beard, for instance, saw Madame de Staël as having been a New Woman of her day: "Though a child of the salon . . . she really made 'the world her salon instead of the salon her world,' for she was in fact a 'new woman', running to and fro across the Continent, as much at home in Germany or Italy as in England and Russia." Apart from de Staël's obvious accomplishments, it was the total freedom of the woman, a freedom of mind as well as of movement, which impressed the historian as well the novelist. "Her conduct was a pledge that women might henceforth travel where they please," Beard continued, "observe what they will, and express their conclusions freely."³²

In an early novel written during her marriage and

"Man and Woman are merely human nature under two different labels. Two horns on the same old cow."

Atherton

subsequently destroyed, Atherton created a heroine who was a composite of everything she herself would have liked to be. Her fictional projection was modeled after Madame de Staël, Madame Récamier, and Lady Blessington, an English woman whose salons and lovers were also legendary. While still married and living in Menlo Park, she held her first literary salon and began to collect a group of male admirers. George's jealousy put a damper on that enterprise, but the idea of a salon continued to fascinate her, and many of her fictional heroines hold salons in which they are surrounded by accomplished men capable of appreciating their intelligence and wit as well as their personal charm.

While it might be said that Atherton's interest in the famous salons of history and her ambition to have a salon of her own show signs of bondage to old feminine ideals, there was much in the old salons which appealed to the New Woman. Salons were significant power institutions in which women played a major role, as well as vital centers of culture where the newest literary, political, scientific, and social idea found expression and support.³³ Few other institutions in history allowed women such immediate participation in the important currents of their own day. Moreover, women of the salons were not faced with a choice between love and career, between womanliness and intellectual development, for they were also appreciated as women.

It proved difficult for Atherton, however, to realize the ideal of the old French salon in twentieth-century America. During the war when she was in New York administering the American branch of a French war-relief group (in a kind of patriotic competition with her

literary rival, Edith Wharton), she began holding monthly receptions for her literary and intellectual friends. While her "first Sundays" were apparently attended by a "very crush of notables," and the editor of the *New York Sun* claimed that "if there are modern de Staëls, she is among them!," the experience proved to be somewhat less than satisfying for Atherton. She complained: "The *salon* was all very well for Madame de Staël who could sit in the middle of the room and pontificate, or for Madame Récamier who listened 'avec seduction', but in these days the hostess does nothing but move about and stand about listening to scrappy conversation, wondering if she has forgotten to introduce anyone to the celebrities he came to see, and wishing they would all go home. I like the small group, and as for men, I have always preferred one at a time."³⁴

Numerous American New Women attempted to imitate the European institution, but only the salon of Mabel Dodge Luhan, who presents an interesting contrast to Atherton, was very successful.³⁵ Both Atherton and Luhan were restless, middle-class women who denied traditional restraints and moved freely around two continents in their pursuits of success and fulfillment. Both were interested in literature and contemporary intellectual currents, and both, having flaunted socially acceptable sexual roles, were deeply concerned with their sexual identity. But they moved toward different poles in their attempts to live as emancipated New Women. Whereas Luhan tried to devote her life to love, seeking sexual emancipation, Atherton held tenaciously to her career, trying to express her emancipation through professional accomplishment and independent success. Yet for each the attraction of the opposite pole created major tension. Luhan, insisting on the primacy of love and sexuality and viewing all other pursuits as sexual sublimations, was driven to seek power and fame. Atherton, insisting that career provided the best outlet for the passions of her life, never stopped trying to look like a sexual siren.

Women writers (from left) Fannie
Hurst, Kathleen Norris, and Atherton,
with Charles Norris.



Ch. Norris
Fannie Hurst
Kathleen Norris
Miss Atherton

Indeed, the approach of old age came painfully to Atherton, for her sense of self and pursuits were geared to a youthful vitality. Although she was a grandmother, she had no desire to retire at home as grandmothers were expected to do. Never liking the traditional role of the young woman in America, she found that of an old woman even less appealing, particularly because post-war American life and literature seemed geared to the young. She had no intention of being left behind in either area. When physical ailments and fears that her imagination had grown barren began to plague her at the beginning of the twenties, she returned to New York from Europe, hoping to find inspiration for a new novel. There she rediscovered "Steinachism," which she had heard discussed in Europe before the war. Dr. Steinach was a Viennese biologist who had experimented with sexual rejuvenation in rats and guinea pigs and then devised an operation designed to restore youth and reproductivity in men.³⁶ Although his theories were generally discredited by the American medical profession, they excited much enthusiasm among the American public, and Atherton sought out Dr. Harry Benjamin, a former associate of Steinach practicing in New York. Benjamin explained Steinach's methods to Atherton for material for her new novel and suggested that she take the treatments herself. Adventurous, and distressed at her aging, she consented. Whatever the real physical effect, she soon felt new vitality and began to write furiously. *Black Oxen* was completed in five months, and it became the most dramatic popular success of her career. In a literary decade dominated by young men of the "lost generation," Atherton, a sixty-six-year-old woman, wrote the best-selling novel of 1923.

Firmly believing in the effectiveness of rejuvenation and taking more treatments in 1932,³⁷ she discussed her own case freely with a missionary zeal and wondered at those who failed to take similar advantage of the marvels of science. Even in her eighties Atherton remained partial to low-cut gowns and reclining postures,

assuming the manner of an attractive woman half her age, just as her southern belle mother had done. Edward Weston, the photographer to whom she came for a portrait late in her life, wrote a highly unflattering characterization of her in his *Daybooks* which focused on the discrepancy between her age and her manner. But others, including Mary Beard, found the eighty-two-year-old lively and charming. True to Atherton's early resolution, she had built up substance to fall back on when her "looks" had gone.³⁸

The "dowager of American letters," as she came to be known—much to her disgust—continued to publish throughout her eighties. As well, in the last twenty years of her life after her return to the United States, she became a civic figure in San Francisco, serving on the art commission and the board of directors of the public library. She also presided as the city's unofficial literary hostess and entertained visiting writers such as Gertrude Stein.³⁹

Honors earned through decades of laborious effort came to her in the last years. Elected first president of the newly formed National Academy of American Literature, she also received honorary degrees from Mills College in 1935 and the University of California in 1937 and was named to the executive board of the California Writers Club in 1941. At the request of the Library of Congress in 1943, she presented them a collection of her manuscripts and memorabilia, becoming the first living woman to have her work extensively represented in manuscript form. Until late 1947, less than a year before her death, she served as president of the Northern California PEN (International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists), which she had helped found, and also helped to charter a Southern California chapter in Los Angeles.

On her ninetieth birthday, October 31, 1947, San Francisco officials presented her with a gold medal commending her for her services to California literature. To this spiritual heir of de Staël and Récamier, the cere-

Typing the second draft of a manuscript, the sharp-witted but elderly author consented to a rare "working" photograph by a Life magazine photographer.



mony must have seemed a bit dry, for she requested an additional tribute from Mayor Roger D. Lapham, who had made the presentation. Telling him of the French ceremony of decoration for the Legion d'Honneur, awarded her years earlier, which had included a formal kiss on each cheek, she added: "If such a salutation was *de rigueur* then, it must be now."⁴⁰ The San Francisco mayor, reportedly blushing, bestowed the desired tribute.

Gertrude Franklin Horn Atherton died eight months later on June 14, 1948, of "ailments connected with her advanced age."⁴¹ This New Woman, however, had lived to witness the dawn of the new era of feminist awareness she had helped create.

The photographs on page 203 and 208 are from *Life* magazine, November 11, 1946; on page 206, from The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The others are from the collection of the CHS Library.

Notes

1. William Robertson Nicoll, in *Bookman* (London), 12 (April, 1897): 18.
2. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream* (New York, 1973), pp. 346-47.
3. The nature and significance of the New Woman was a topic of frequent and heated discussion in magazines of the 1890's. See, for example: E. W. Winston, "Foibles of the New Woman," *Forum*, 21 (April, 1896): 186-192; "New Woman Under Fire,"

- Review of Reviews*, 10 (December, 1894): 656; "Advice to the New Woman," *Review of Reviews*, 12 (July, 1895): 84-85; Emma Churchman Hewitt, "The New Woman in Relation to the New Man," *Westminster*, 147 (November, 1898): 576-587; Niles M. Dawson, "The New Woman," *Arena*, August 18, 1897, p. 275; Boyd Winchester, "The New Woman," *Arena*, 27 (April, 1902): 367-373.
4. For an analysis of the genteel ideals of femininity, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer, 1966): 151-174. For a sampling of the contemporary popularization of these ideals, see Margaret Cox, *Claims of the Country on American Females*, 2 vols. (Columbus, 1842); Charles Butler, *The American Lady* (Philadelphia, 1839); "Home and Woman," *Godey's Lady's Book*, 53 (September, 1856): 213; The Rev. Winslow Hubbard and Mrs. John Sanford, *The Lady's Manual of Moral and Intellectual Culture* (New York, 1854); The American Tract Society, *The Young Lady's Guide* (New York, 1870).
5. Gertrude Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist* (New York, 1932), pp. 10-11.
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. *Ibid.*, 34.
8. *Ibid.*, 42.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
10. James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (New York, 1950), p. 122.
11. Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, 51.
12. *Ibid.*, 60.
13. *Ibid.*, 79.
14. Many nineteenth-century Californians looked to the East and to Europe as centers of the culture which they strove to imitate. See Earl Pomeroy, "Re-discovering the West," *American Quarterly*, 12 (Spring, 1960): 20-30.
15. *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York, 1965), p. 57.
16. Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, 60.

17. In later years Atherton seemed to enjoy telling the story of her husband's death and embalment. He died on board a schooner to Chile and was shipped home in a barrel of rum. See Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, 125-126; also F. Packard, "A Casket of Amontillando," *New Yorker*, July 17, 1948, p. 65.
18. Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, 143.
19. *Spectator*, October 1, 1898, p. 445. For a further sampling of English critical response to Atherton's work, see: *Athenæum*, September 14, 1895, p. 351; *Edinburgh Review*, 187 (April, 1898): 405-407; *Bookman*, 14 (April, 1898): 17; *Athenæum*, May 7, 1898, p. 597; *Bookman*, 15 (November, 1898): 51; *Athenæum*, July 8, 1899, p. 62; *Bookman*, 19 (November, 1900): 58-59.
20. One of Atherton's staunchest American supporters was Carl Van Vechten, who persuaded her to write her memoirs. Other consistent champions of her work were James MacArthur, writing for *Harper's Weekly*; Frederic Taber Cooper, writing for the *Bookman* and the *North American Review*; Isabel Paterson, writing in the *Bookman*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Yale Review*; Joseph Henry Jackson, writing in the *New York Herald Tribune*; and Hildegard Hawthorne and L. M. Field, writing in the *New York Times*.
21. See especially Walter Jerrold, review of *Julia France and Her Times*, by Gertrude Atherton, *Bookman*, 36 (June, 1912): 132-133; R. D. Townsend, review of *The Sisters-in-Law*, by Gertrude Atherton, *Outlook*, February 16, 1921, p. 267; H. L. Mencken, "The Gland School," *American Mercury*, 6 (November, 1925): 249-251.
22. See Lionel Stevenson, "Atherton versus Grundy: The Forty Years' War," *Bookman*, 69 (July, 1929): 464-472. See also Fred Lewis Pattee, *The New American Literature, 1890-1930* (New York, 1930), p. 245-248; and Henry Seidel Canby, "Mrs. Atherton's *Black Oxen*," *Definitions: Essays in Contemporary Criticism*, Second Series (New York, 1924), pp. 237-241.
23. For a sampling of extremely unfavorable reaction to her work, see M. B. James, "Mrs. North: An Unwritten Chapter with Some Comments," *Lippincott's*, 68 (September, 1901): 351-356; John Curtis Underwood, "Mrs. Atherton and Ancestry," *Literature and Insurgency: Ten Studies in Racial Evolution* (New York, 1914), pp. 391-446; Upton Beall Sinclair, "Incense to Mammon," *Money Writes!* (New York, 1927), pp. 78-84.
24. Atherton changed publishers frequently, making total sales figures difficult to assemble. *Senator North* (1900) sold 25,000 copies, and *The Conqueror* (1902) sold 70,000 copies within a year of publication, according to *Publisher's Weekly*. Correspondence from the firm of Horace Liveright (previously Boni & Liveright), records of which are at the Bancroft Library, reveals that *The Conqueror* sold over 15,000 additional copies in the years 1926 to 1948 alone. Figures for 1903 to 1926 were probably much higher, and the book has never gone out of print. By the end of 1928, *The Crystal Cup* (1925) had sold 36,494 copies; by July of 1931 *The Immortal Marriage* (1927) stood at 30,909 copies; *The Jealous Gods* (1928) at 16,952; *The Sophisticates* (1931) at 17,682; and *Black Oxen* (1923) at 115,379 copies.
25. According to the firm of Tauchnitz, Americans traveling in Europe preferred Atherton's books to those of other American writers. In the 1920's Tauchnitz had published twenty-four of her books, as compared to seven by Joseph Hergesheimer, three by Sinclair Lewis, and two by Edith Wharton. Irene and Allen Cleaton, *Books and Battles* (New York, 1937), p. 215.
26. Atherton, "The Fault I Find with America," *Delineator*, 80 (November, 1912): 324.
27. Gertrude Atherton Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
28. Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, 173.
29. See the photograph in *Harper's Weekly*, April 16, 1904, p. 593.
30. Aspasia, Récamier, and de Staël fascinated other writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lydia Maria Child's *Philothea* (1836) is a novel about Aspasia and Pericles. Sarah Grand, a British feminist novelist, mentioned Aspasia in her novel *Ideala* (1894). Constance Rourke, in *Trumpets of Jubilee* (p. 94), has noted that a young Harriet Beecher Stowe read the biography of Madame de Staël and de Staël's novel *Corinne*. Josephine Turck Baker wrote a play, *Madame de Staël*, about de Staël and Récamier in 1922. Numerous popular contemporary books focused on one or another of these three women. See, for instance, Albert Payson Terhune, *Superwomen* (New York, 1916), and George Ryley Scott, *Ten Ladies of Joy* (London, n.d.).
31. Maurice Levaillant, *The Passionate Exiles: Madame de Staël and Madame Récamier*, trans. Malcolm Barnes (New York, 1958).
32. *On Understanding Women* (New York, 1931), pp. 490-491.
33. *Ibid.*, 465f.
34. Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist*, p. 539; Grant M. Overton, *The Women Who Make Our Novels* (New York, 1919), pp. 47-48.
35. An interesting study of Luhan is to be found in Lasch, *New Radicalism in America*, 104-140.
36. See "The Latest Fountain of Youth," *Literary Digest*, October 6, 1923, p. 28; Eugene Steinach, *Sex and Life: Forty Years of Biological and Medical Experiments* (New York, 1940).
37. "Rejuvenation: 78-Year-Old Novelist Feels 30 Years Less," *Newsweek*, December 14, 1935, p. 40.
38. *The Daybooks of Edward Weston*, ed. Nancy Newhall (New York, 1966), II: 89-91; Beard to Atherton, September 18, 1939, Atherton Papers.
39. A portion of Atherton's correspondence with Stein is held at the Beinecke Library, Yale University; some of Atherton's correspondence about Stein is at the Bancroft Library. Stein makes brief reference to Atherton in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*.
40. *New York Times*, May 30, 1943, p. 11.
41. *New York Times*, October 31, 1947, p. 20.

schools behind barbed wire



During World War II the United States government undertook an unusual educational enterprise—teaching students who were imprisoned behind barbed wire by order of the president of the United States “an understanding of American ideals, institutions and practices.”¹ This undertaking was an outcome of Franklin Roosevelt’s Executive Order No. 9066 of February, 1942, which required all people of Japanese descent living on the Pacific coast of the United States to move to internment camps, called “relocation centers,” in the interior of the country. Because the blanket order applied to children as well as adults and to United States citizens as well as aliens, over 70,000 of the more than 110,000 evacuees were California residents, and the majority were American-born Nisei (second-generation Japanese).

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This article developed from the author’s new book, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975*, copyright 1976 by The Regents of the University of California, printed by permission of the University of California Press.

The bureaucracy of the War Relocation Agency (WRA) which operated the camps—eventually numbering ten and scattered throughout the United States—thus found itself responsible for the education of more than 25,000 Japanese-American children, most of them former students of California public schools. Almost overnight, the WRA had to create an educational system equivalent in size to that of a small city. By the very nature of the relocation, that system was completely racially segregated.

In these camps the great mass of California’s Nisei students experienced school segregation for the first time. Once before, in 1906, San Francisco had tried unsuccessfully to force Japanese pupils to attend an “oriental school” originally established for Chinese students; however, Japanese parents stoutly refused to obey such a segregation policy and withdrew their children from the public schools. When the parents subsequently informed Tokyo newspapers about the dispute, the resulting publicity precipitated a diplomatic crisis between Japan and the United States.

Remote Modoc County's Tule Lake Relocation Center (left) became a "segregation center" for troublemakers, "renunciants,"—and 3,800 schoolchildren.

Wood and tarpaper construction characterized most camp buildings, including the classrooms for these fifth graders.

Finally, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened by forcing the San Francisco School Board to re-admit the Japanese to public schools.² (Chinese students, however, continued to be segregated.) After this experience, few other California communities openly attempted to follow San Francisco's lead in segregation. Only four small Sacramento County school districts ever enforced a formal segregation policy against Japanese after 1906.³

By 1930 about 30,000 Nisei children were attending integrated California schools, and by that time the Japanese-American students had achieved an impressive scholastic record. Their parents had been among the best educated immigrant groups ever to arrive in the United States; not only did they have long experience with public education in Japan, but they also strongly believed that schooling promoted economic and social well-being. Motivated by such values, in 1930 the average Californian of Japanese ancestry over twenty years of age had completed twelve years of education—considerably more than the general population. In fact, Dr. Reginald Bell of Stanford University found that in California's secondary schools, Nisei pupils achieved significantly more grades of *A* and *B*, and fewer grades of *C*, *D*, and *F*, than white students.⁴ According to Dr. Harry Kitano, furthermore, California teachers had formed a stereotype of the "ideal Japanese child and his wonderful cooperative parents." Indeed, one Los Angeles educator proclaimed, "We always like to have one or two Japanese children in our classes as an example to the other children. . . ."⁵

With this background, the WRA firmly believed from its first days that the education of Japanese-American children, who began arriving at the relocation centers in late March of 1942, should continue uninterrupted. To that end, school programs and facilities were hurriedly slapped together during the summer months of 1942. By September eight of the original ten camp schools were in session.

In the new schools, however, normal operations were



not easily maintained. In Manzanar, located 300 miles from Los Angeles in the Owens Valley east of the Sierra Nevada, classes opened in "unpartitioned recreational barracks without any lining on the walls or heat of any kind." Within two days a cold wave combined with dust storms at the center had forced the schools to close until the barracks could be lined and stoves could be installed.⁶

Initially, moreover, severe shortages of textbooks, instructional equipment, and even furniture plagued the fledgling schools. According to a WRA report, "In the first weeks many of the children had no desks or chairs and for the most part were obliged to sit on the floor. . . ."⁷ Originally, the WRA had anticipated that the state would officially recognize schools in the two California camps, Manzanar and Tule Lake (in northeastern California's Modoc County), as part of the regular California school system—and therefore make the facilities eligible for state textbooks and financial aid. This arrangement, however, was soon ruled illegal by State Attorney General Earl Warren. Thereafter the Manzanar and Tule

*Although employed by the WRA,
Dorothea Lange photographed the grim
school conditions, including outdoor
classes in the everpresent dust at Manzanar
before classrooms were completed in 1942.*



Lake schools, like those in other western states, remained under federal control. Although the Los Angeles Board of Education donated thousands of used books which helped relieve textbook shortages, the schools never gained sufficient instructional materials and equipment, particularly for shop and laboratory classes.⁸

Camp schools also suffered from a shortage of qualified teachers. At first, the WRA determinedly set out to hire only people who were eligible to obtain teaching credentials in the particular state in which the camp was located. By 1943 the agency had managed to secure 557 white teachers and about twenty-five Japanese evacuee teachers, but the WRA never attracted enough qualified faculty to the desolate camp sites. Hundreds of evacuee teaching assistants had to be hired to help in the classrooms.⁹

Despite shortages of equipment and teachers, by the spring of 1943, schools were in full operation at all camps. A total of 25,585 children were enrolled in the system, 10,893 of them in elementary schools (grades kindergarten through six). Of the two California camps, Tule Lake had the largest enrollment, nearly 3,800 students, while Manzanar had about 2,100. In addition, the WRA opened extensive adult education and nursery school programs at all camps.¹⁰

All internment camp schools were planned in accordance with the best precepts of "progressive education"—as understood by WRA bureaucrats.¹¹ Lester Ade, agency director of education, defined the main purpose of the schools as preparing students "for reabsorption into normal community life and for return to outside schools." With an eye to the future, the WRA took pains to insure that its schools were accredited by the states in which the centers were located and that full college preparatory curricula were established at all

camp high schools. Ade ambitiously envisioned that the schools would become community centers, a "background for community participation of various types . . . an institution with which people were familiar, and which served as a connecting link with the cherished past. . . ." With these goals in mind, the WRA encouraged formation of local Parent Teacher Association chapters and established parental advisory boards, but at the same time the camp authorities firmly maintained actual control of the schools.¹²

For the students camp schools encouraged a full range of activities. Student government ("to permit participation in the democratic process"), athletic and debating teams, drama, art, and music programs all functioned as they might in any large American school system.¹³ In an account of school life at Manzanar, for instance, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston recalled that in the camp's high school yearbook, *Our World*, pictures showed "school kids with armloads of books, wearing cardigan sweaters and walking past rows of tar paper shacks. You see chubby girl yell-leaders, pom-poms flying as they leap with glee. You read about the school play called *Growing Pains* . . . the story of a typical American home . . . with Soji Katamayer as George McIntyre, Takuda Ando as Terry McIntyre and Mrs. McIntyre played by Kigako Nagai. . . ."¹⁴

The contradictions between the progressive ideals taught at these "typical" American schools on the one hand and the realities of camp life, barbed wire, and armed guards on the other did not escape Nisei students. When school opened at the camp in Rohner, Arkansas, in September, 1942, a student chalked the words "Jap Prison" on the tar paper wall.¹⁵ Young people, particularly Kibei (American-born children educated in Japan), formed protest movements against both the WRA administrators and those Japanese American Citizens League leaders who cooperated with WRA authorities. Their protests intensified in 1943 after the government distributed questionnaires which in effect asked evacuees

to declare allegiance to the United States. Most camp residents willingly signed these loyalty oaths, but several thousand refused and were transferred with their families to Tule Lake, the California camp which became a "segregation center" for "renunciants" and other "troublemakers."¹⁶

The new status of Tule Lake, marked by massive movements of people in and out of the camp, continually disrupted its educational program. Some of the most militant "renunciants" pulled their children out of WRA institutions and began independent Japanese language schools. They elected a board to run these schools and instituted a major campaign to persuade other Tule Lake parents to send their children to the new institutions.

Unlike earlier Japanese language schools in California, the Tule Lake institutions sought to prepare children to return to Japan after the war, and one was appropriately named "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity School." At the beginning of 1945, language school enrollment at Tule Lake peaked at 4,300, while the WRA schools claimed only 2,300 children, although there were many dual enrollments. By the summer of 1945, however, a reaction against the militant leaders apparently set in among Tule Lake parents, and language school enrollment began to drop. Responding to this pressure, the Japanese school board became more cooperative with camp authorities, and the Greater East Asia school was re-named the Tule Lake Language School. Nevertheless, after the war, more than 2,000 Tule Lake residents reaffirmed their original objective and chose to be repatriated to Japan.¹⁷

As fears of a Japanese invasion waned in the last years of the war, the WRA began encouraging evacuees to leave the camps and resettle in areas outside of the West Coast zone. Accordingly, WRA schools provided students with information on the resettlement program to take home to their parents, and adult and vocational courses were organized to prepare residents for the end

of camp life. By early 1945, approximately 3,000 children of resettled parents had left camp schools, and the total WRA school enrollment by the end of the spring semester of 1945 was about 5,000 less than it had been in the fall of 1944.¹⁸

In fact, the success of this resettlement program, together with the impending end of the war, convinced WRA officials not to reopen the schools in September, 1945—except at Tule Lake. Some parents protested this decision, claiming that they needed many months to resettle or return home, months in which their children would be deprived of valuable education.¹⁹ Student opinion, however, was probably best expressed by a photograph in *Valedictorian 1945*, Manzanar High School's last yearbook, which showed a hand squeezing wire cutters clamped on a piece of barbed wire.²⁰

In retrospect, camp schools and the rhetoric concerning community participation and democratic ideals can be viewed as flagrant examples of institutional hypocrisy. The facilities, equipment, materials, and probably many of the teachers were second-rate at best. Even so, at least one alumnus, Professor Harry Kitano of the University of California, Los Angeles, believes that this first experience with segregated schooling stimulated Nisei students in some ways. For the first time these young Japanese Americans had a chance to be the "big man" or "most popular girl" on campus. Experiencing this prominence allowed them to develop the self-confidence and assertiveness that had been stifled in regular public schools. Some good teachers, too, provided genuine learning experiences for their students. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston remembers a Manzanar teacher who was "probably the best teacher I've ever had—strict, fair-minded, dedicated to her job. Because of her, I was, academically at least, more than prepared to keep up with my peers."²²

The return of the Nisei to California public schools after World War II was frequently a difficult social, if not educational, process. But throughout the state, it was a

The contradictions between the progressive ideals taught at these "typical" American schools on the one hand, and the realities of camp life, barbed wire, and armed guards on the other, did not escape Nisei students.



The WRA attempted to maintain a semblance of regular public school activity and ceremony in the camp schools. Behind barbed wire, a Topaz junior high student addressed her graduating class in 1943, and Tule Lake drum majorettes performed to raise money for a 1944 school yearbook.

The WRA encouraged camp athletic events and allowed the 1943 Topaz football team to play against the white public high school team at Fillmore. Topaz won the game.



Evacuees dart from building to building as a firmly planted American flag crackles in the hot windstorm raising dust from the desert surrounding Manzanar. Photograph by Dorothea Lange.



process that occurred in an integrated setting. By 1962 Dr. Kitano found that the assimilation of Japanese American students was proceeding rapidly, with the result that their academic achievement and grade-point average had declined slightly from that of the pre-war years. According to Kitano, "With the breakdown of the ethnic community and increasing opportunities to participate in the broader one, the behaviors of the group are changing from typically Japanese to American. The current Sansei (third) generation offers an example where behaviors are now approaching the American middle class in terms of achievement and social participation."²³

In the 1970's some Sansei youth are rejecting assimilation and seeking an identity in an Asian American or "Third World" context. But it remains true that no immigrant group has more effectively taken advantage of public school education than the Japanese. While excellence in educational achievement was often gained at great psychological and cultural cost, academic achievement allowed the Nisei to offset to some degree the crippling blows American society dealt them. In this achievement the WRA schools played an important role. Relocation shattered home and family life, but public school life, however fraught with contradictions and hypocrisy, continued in the camps. Education provided a link and an avenue of return to life outside the barbed wire walls.

Back in 1906, during the San Francisco school segregation controversy, Goroku Ikeda of the Japanese Association claimed that Japanese children were "endeavoring to assimilate themselves" and "obtain an education so that they might be good citizens."²⁴ Forty years later, as they emerged from the internment camps, most Nisei remained committed to those goals.

Photographs are from the Bancroft Library's copies of the War Relocation Agency files at the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Notes

1. United States War Relocation Agency, *Education in War Relocation Centers* (Washington, 1945), pp. 1, 12.
2. For accounts of the San Francisco dispute, see Thomas Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crisis* (Stanford, 1934) and Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: the Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (New York, 1970).
3. Reginald Bell, *Public School Education of Second Generation Japanese in California* (Stanford, 1934), pp. 65-67 and Edward Strong, *The Second Generation Japanese Problem* (Stanford, 1934), pp. 199-201.
4. Bell, *Public School*, 37-60; Strong, *Second Generation*, 186.
5. Harry H. C. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: Evolution of A Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), pp. 23-24; Gretchen Tuthill, "A Study of the Japanese in the City of Los Angeles," (M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1924), p. 87; Strong, *Second Generation*, 179.
6. United States War Relocation Authority (WRA), *Second Quarterly Report* (Washington, 1942), pp. 17-18.
7. *Quarterly Report: October 1 to December 31, 1942* (Washington, 1943), p. 14.
8. WRA, *First Quarterly Report* (Washington, 1942), p. 27; *Second Quarterly Report*, 30.
9. WRA, *Semi-Annual Report: January 1 to June 30, 1943* (Washington, 1943), p. 30.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley, 1946), p. 37.
12. WRA, *Education Program in War Relocation Centers* (Washington, 1945), pp. 1-2.
13. *Ibid.*, 1, 12; WRA, *Semi-Annual Report January 1-June 30, 1944* (Washington, 1944), pp. 39-40.
14. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston, 1973), p. 87.
15. Edward Spicer, et. al., *Impounded People* (Tucson, 1959), p. 123.
16. *Ibid.*, 180.
17. *Ibid.*, 180, 275; WRA, *Semi-Annual Reports July 1-December 31, 1943*, p. 74; *January 1-June 30, 1945*, pp. 37, 52-53.
18. WRA, *Semi-Annual Reports, January 1-June 30, 1944*, p. 40; *January 1-June 30, 1945*, pp. 37-38.
19. Spicer, *Impounded*, 246.
20. Houston, *Farewell*, 115.
21. Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, 38.
22. Houston, *Farewell*, 90.
23. Kitano, "Changing Achievement Patterns of the Japanese in the United States" *Journal of Social Psychology* (December, 1962), pp. 263-264.
24. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 19, 1906.

LONDON ALBUM

a California legend at work and play

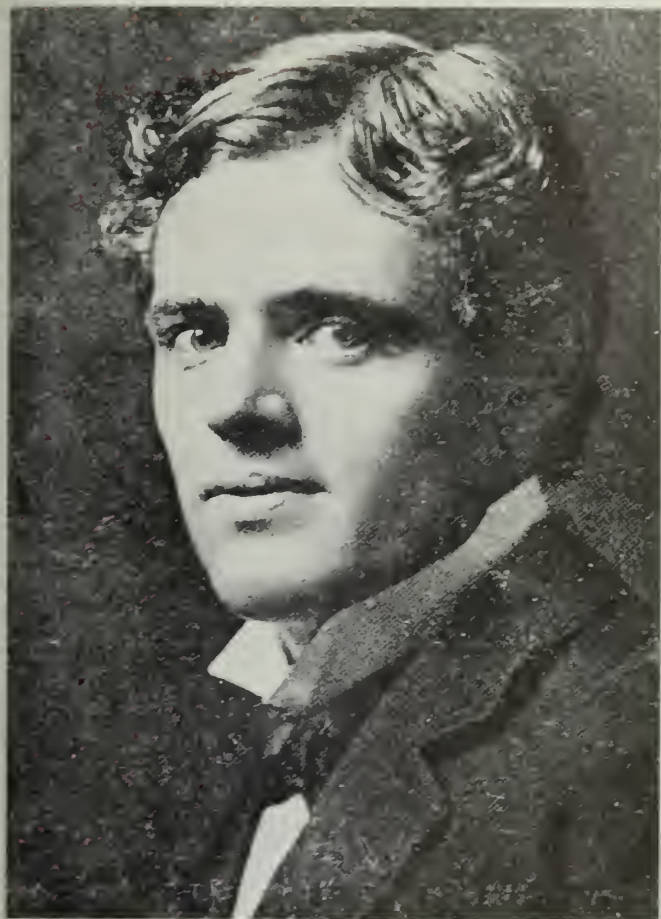
From his birth one hundred years ago in San Francisco on January 12, 1876, to his death on November 22, 1916, Jack London lived a life rich with experiences and emotional intensity. Before the age of thirty he had pirated oysters on San Francisco Bay, sailed through Japanese waters and the Bering Sea on the sealing ship, *Sophia Sutherland*, shoveled coal and worked thirteen-hour days in dismal mills and factories, tramped with Kelly's division of Coxey's Army of unemployed marching on Washington, D.C., joined the gold rush to the Klondike, and experienced the Russo-Japanese war as a foreign correspondent for the *San Francisco Examiner*.

Ms. Willson is a graduate student in history at the University of California, Berkeley, completing her doctoral thesis on Jack London's socialism.

This pictorial essay is dedicated to Irving Shepard, nephew of Jack London.

Before the age of thirty Jack had also embraced socialism and established himself as a novelist. A mercurial figure of brilliance and passion, of commitment and contradiction, London produced some fifty volumes of novels, short stories, essays, plays, and poems which won him recognition as a major American author.

One of the first American writers to earn more than a million dollars from his writings, London's popularity has dwindled in the United States over the years. But in Europe, where politics and literature meld more comfortably, he remains a highly revered and fascinating representative of American consciousness fired by social concerns and of writing rich with vernacular and idiom, regional customs and history. In the Soviet Union more than 500,000 London titles are purchased annually. In 1976, on his hundredth birthday, commemorative editions of twenty and thirty volumes are



Take me this way: a stray quest, a bird of passage, splashing with salt-rimed wings through a brief moment of your life—a rude and blundering bird, used to large airs and great space, unaccustomed to the amenities of confined existence. An unwelcomed visitor to be tolerated only because of the sacred law of food and blanket.

Jack London to Anna Strunsky
December 21, 1899

An intense Jack London in 1900, a year after the twenty-three-year-old author's first story was published.

being released in France, Italy, and Switzerland, and in Scandinavia Jack London clubs are chartering flights to California to experience first-hand the settings of many of his works.

Although London traveled extensively throughout his short life—in the South Seas, England, Mexico, Hawaii, and around the Horn—and used the exotic settings in many of his most popular books, he always returned to California, the place of his birth and his emotional center. Throughout his exciting, if driven life, London carried scars of his early physical and emotional poverty in working-class Oakland. When his mother Flora became pregnant with Jack, her common-law husband, William H. Chaney, deserted her, and Flora bore the child in bitterness after an unsuccessful suicide attempt. For forty years Jack fiercely sought the love and devotion deprived him by his mother from his friends, lovers, acquaintances, and

his public. Flora, *declassée* herself, also fostered in her son a fear of the abyss of poverty, and Jack, however economically comfortable, continued to struggle like Horatio Alger and sustain a belief in the precariousness of his economic and personal life.

Although Jack's writing, socialism, agricultural experiments, and relationship with his second wife, Charmian, buoyed him up and consumed his interest, occasionally even these passionate commitments failed to sustain him. The following pictorial essay explores through narrative, photographs, and excerpts from London's published works and personal letters, the private life and emotional odyssey of one of California's greatest authors and most charismatic public figures. Most of the photographs are from 100 London family albums and have never been published; they are graciously loaned by the family of Jack's step-sister Eliza, the Shepards of Glen Ellen.

Born near Third and Brannan streets in San Francisco, London and his mother shortly moved to Oakland. Many of London's novels including *Martin Eden*, *White Fang*, *Valley of the Moon*, *Burning Daylight*, *Star Rover*, and *The Little Lady of the Big House* have California settings.

As the London family's fortunes rose and fell, they moved to accommodate their most recent change in financial status, sometimes a half-dozen times a year. All Jack's life, he seemed to long for the security absent in the early years.



At age twelve Jack lived in several houses, one of them at 807 Pine Street in industrial West Oakland.

Ten-year-old London with companion Rollo



London is the father of proletarian literature in America. [He] was . . . the first and so far only proletarian writer of genius in America. He is the most popular writer of the American working class.

Irving Stone, *Sailor on Horseback* (1938)

The young Martin Eden in his writing outfit



"You look back and see how hard you worked, and how poor you were, and how desperately anxious you were to succeed, and all you can remember is how happy you were. You were working at something you believed in with all your heart, and you knew you were going to succeed!"

Jack London to daughter Joan London

In 1900 Jack decided to settle down and marry Elizabeth (Bessie) Maddern. They had two children, Joan (born in 1901) and Bess (born in 1902 and still living). Their marriage ended painfully in 1903, with separation and a divorce two years later. Jack felt an extremely strong bond with his children, although Bessie's bitterness prevented him from maintaining sustained contact with the children, and he and Bessie battled fiercely throughout his life over the children. Jack's second wife Charmian lost two children, and Jack grieved over being denied the joys of fatherhood.

After Jack returned from the Klondike in 1898, he threw himself into writing as though he were again a work beast in a factory. Although he failed to find gold, he gathered rich material and experiences which launched his literary career. He sold his first story, "To the Man on Trail," to the *Overland Monthly* in January, 1899. Success was assured by the publication of *The Call of the Wild* in 1903, London's most popular novel which has since sustained 300 editions.

Jack's autobiographical novel *Martin Eden* reveals how hard Jack worked at writing and how his stories came back from publishers with rejection slips like homing pigeons. The Henry E. Huntington Library, which houses most of London's papers, holds boxes of these rejection slips. But Jack believed in himself and kept writing, hocking his typewriter when necessary and finally gaining popular acclaim,



*London's first wife Bessie Maddern
with young Bess and Joan*

*Believe me, my own Mate, that it has taken all the resolution
I could summon to prevent my going back, for the children's sake.
I have been sadly shaken during the past 48 hours,
so shaken that it almost seemed easier to sacrifice myself for the little ones.
They are such joys, such perfect little creatures.*

Jack to Charmian
July 8, 1904



Bess, Jack, and Joan London in 1905



Jack and Charmian linger over nautical charts dressed in rain slickers.

London's divorce from Elizabeth and other pressures hurled him into a deep depression, and in 1903 he endured what he called a Nietzschean "long sickness." Seeking an escape from his despair, he embarked on a long love affair with Charmian Kittredge and embraced his socialism even more vigorously. Though he found personal salvation in his dedication to socialism, he discovered that the commitment imprisoned him, too. He spoke of it as a "handcuff to life," an ambiguous metaphor that reflected London's conflict between socialist activism and cooperation and his desire for personal, individualistic freedom and intense experience.

*... the PEOPLE saved me. By the PEOPLE was I handcuffed to life.
There was still one fight left in me, and here was the thing for which to fight.
I threw all precaution to the winds, threw myself with fiercer zeal
into the fight for socialism ... Love, socialism, the PEOPLE
were the things that cured and saved me.*

London, John Barleycorn (1913)



*Jack married Charmian Kittredge on his
socialist lecture tour which took him
around the country immediately after his
divorce became final.*

*Handbill advertising Jack's lecture
in Apia, Samoa.
Courtesy Holmes Book Company, Oakland*

*Poster announcing London's novel
Before Adam (1906), appraised by Irving
Stone as "a brave attempt to popularize
Darwin and Wallace, to bring the meaning
of their work to the masses."
Courtesy Holmes Book Company, Oakland*

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THE NOTED AMERICAN AUTHOR,

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A Lecture on Socialism

in the

CENTRAL HOTEL;

On Tuesday, May 12th

commencing at 8:30 p.m.

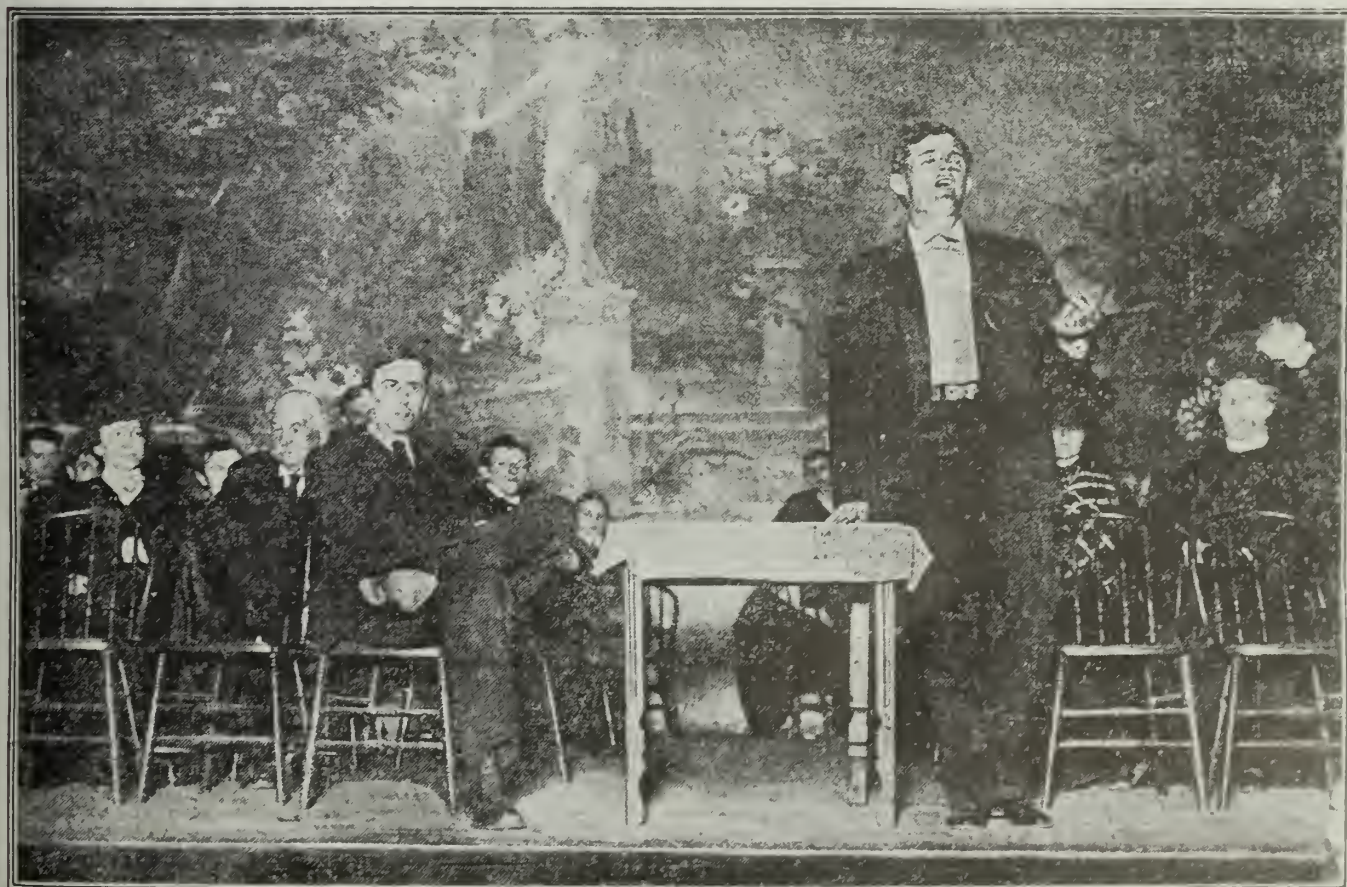
After the Lecture, Mr.
London will answer any
questions.

All are cordially invited.
Admission Free.

Apia, Samoa

*London speaking on socialism
to an academic audience.
Courtesy Huntington Library.*

On January 20, 1905, Jack London mounted the platform in Harmon Gymnasium at the University of California, Berkeley, to deliver his "sermon" entitled "Revolution" to the students and faculty. It was one of many lectures which he gave between 1896 when he joined the Socialist party and 1908 when he ceased being an evangelist. He supported the movement with extensive speaking engagements in the Bay Area, a four-month lecture tour across the country, his two-time candidacy for mayor of Oakland, foreign "missionary" lectures while sailing the *Snark* in the South Seas, numerous articles, and donations of money. After this period as firebringer he retreated to his agrarian Eden at Glen Ellen near Sonoma where he had previously purchased a ranch, but he continued to stuff his correspondence with socialist tracts and preach through his writings, albeit in an ambiguous fashion. On March 7, 1916, he resigned from the Socialist party "because of its lack of fire and fight and its loss of emphasis on the class struggle." (Irving Shepard and King Hendricks, *Letters from Jack London* [1966])





Those who knew Jack London testify to his unparalleled youthful ardor and his generosity with his friends. He surrounded himself with a coterie of people of all backgrounds and classes and lavishly volunteered money and affection to friends and strangers alike. He kept all of their letters to him and carbons of the letters he sent in response.

To his friend Cloudesley Johns, London wrote in 1899, "I have the fatal gift of making friends without exertion. And they never forget me." But Jack encouraged people to visit him, and they frequently did: hoboes, artists, socialists, anarchists, Klondikers, and seamen tramped to his door. When he became restless with the visits, he returned to the sea on one of his succession of sloops, the *Razzle Dazzle*, the *Spray*, the *Snark*, and the *Roamer*. Combining his intellectual pursuits and adventures, he stuffed his seabag with books when he sailed on the *Sophia Sutherland* and the *Snark*, read under trains while tramping, and lugged books to the Klondike.

Jack reading at the wheel on the Roamer in 1914



*Jack reminiscing with French Frank,
a friend from oyster pirating days*

Jack's dearest friend was his mate Charmian with whom he boxed, swam, sailed, rode, and shared his life. Not without its stresses and estrangement, their love affair endured the years.



The Londons on the Roamer



Charmian and Jack sparring in 1905



*Jack and Charmian,
probably in Hawaii in 1915-16*

Dearest My Woman—Whose efficient hands I love—the hands that have worked for me long hours and many, swiftly and deftly, and beautifully in the making of music; the hands that have steered the Snark through wild passages and rough seas, that do not tremble on a trigger, that are sure and strong on the reins of a thoroughbred or an untamed Marquesan stallion; the hands that are sweet with love as they pass through my hair, firm with comradeship as they grip mine and that soothe as only they of all hands in the world can soothe. Your Man and Lover—Jack London, Glen Ellen, October 10, 1910.

Inscription in *The Road*



Jack and Charmian working in 1905



Throughout his writing career, Charmian devotedly served as Jack's personal secretary and typed all of his manuscripts and correspondence. They were inseparable in work and play.

The Londons enjoying the sun



*You are my very OWN, and I
adore you just as blindly and madly
and passionately and unreasonably
as ever a girl loved before.*

Charmian to Jack
September 1, 1903

Not unlike Zelda Fitzgerald, Charmian London was a talented woman in her own right who subordinated her dreams, wishes, and writing talents to her husband whom she worshipped. Combining nineteenth-century gentility and femininity with Amazonian comradeship, she remained Jack's "mate" and after his death dedicated herself to the preservation of his memory. The sacrifices of this bold, headstrong woman were not without consequences, however, for her diaries reveal that she suffered chronic insomnia, miscarriages, and emotional distress. Nevertheless, she willingly and literally followed Jack to the ends of the earth.

*Surely you were made for me,
even tho I know not whether I was
made for you. And I love you,
I do love you purely, and cleanly,
and truly. And we shall live good,
strong, proud lives together, you
and I dear Woman Mine. We shall
grow older and more mature, bnt we
shall always remain children.*

Jack to Charmian
August 30, 1903



*Charmian and Jack at the ranch in 1911-12
posed on the steps of their cottage.*

After his retreat from activist socialism, Jack's ranch at Glen Ellen became the center of his universe. There he lived with Charmian, his friends and frequent visitors, and his writing. He worked extremely hard but also took time out to hunt, talk with friends, and play to exhaustion.

Of his friend, Carmel poet George Sterling, London remarked that Sterling's face was like "a Greek coin run over by a Roman chariot." London addressed his letters to him, "Blessed Greek," and signed them, "Wolf." To a friend he spoke of George as his dearest man friend in the world, the biggest poet alive in the United States, and second to none in the world. Sterling and London read each other's work and went to the Bohemian Grove together for High Jinks. Remarking on London's effusive admiration, George once wrote to Jack in 1913, "I know I don't deserve you, Wolf. But in a way I am glad that I'm one of the illusions you still elect to fall for."

London enjoyed a rousing conversation more than most things. Here he engages with Shawn Hamilton, the brilliant socialist, tramp, and philosopher.





Posing with poet and friend George Sterling

Retaining his childlike love of pranks, London seemed always to possess a kind of boyishness. As a young man he once wrote that he was off to find the boyhood he had never enjoyed. When he entertained his numerous friends on the ranch he reveled in assorted games and practical jokes such as exploding cigars for his anarchist colleagues. After dinner he frequently read chapters or stories he had just finished for his guests.



Xavier Martínez, teacher at the California School of Arts and Crafts, painting his friend London

Agricultural experimenter London with horticulturist Luther Burbank (center) and astronomer Edgar Larkin in 1906



*Jack fencing with socialist
Spiro Orphans in 1911*



In 1913, the circumstances of London's life took a turn for the worse, and he plunged into despair. His long-awaited stone-and-brick home named Wolf House on the ranch at Glen Ellen burned at the hands of an arsonist before he could enjoy the lair which was to be his first and last permanent house; Jack and Charmian lost another baby; Jack's favorite stallion died, and the ranch did poorly. London remarked in that ill-fated year that his face changed and would never be the same.

Jack on a level of Wolf House before it burned





Wolf House in ruins



Architect's sketch of the wolf's lair

*My work on this land, and my
message to America, go hand
in hand!*

*Jack London, quoted in The Book
of Jack London by Charmian,
London, I:272*



*London in front of the silo made by
his workmen. The concrete-block
structure was 100-feet tall and the first of
its kind in California*

*Jack's exotic piggery (right) was a circular
structure built of rock and concrete, which
surrounded a tower where feed was mixed
and distributed to the "suites" of
apartments. Jack also devised an ingenious
system of flushing and sanitizing.*

Jack and Charmian had left California in 1907 for an intended seven-year cruise on the *Snark*, but they were forced to abandon their plans after only two years because of Jack's illnesses. Wearily returning to Glen Ellen, they found unexpected solace in the rolling hills, madrones, vineyards, manzanitas, and warm California sun. London took heart and turned his energies toward his Beauty Ranch, a self-sustaining model community for workers which he hoped to create on the land. His piggery, a "pig motel," represented an attempt to exploit scientific farming and apply his imagination to agriculture.

I want to know that I have left behind me a plot of land which, after the pitiful failures of others, I have made productive . . . Can't you see? Oh, try to see!—In the solution of the great economic problems of the present age, I see a return to the soil. I go into farming because my philosophy and research have taught me to recognize the fact that a return to the soil is the basis of economics. . . . I see my farm in terms of the world, and the world in terms of my farm. . . . Do you realize that I devote two hours a day to writing and ten to farming?

Book of Jack London, II:266.





Still recovering from their tragedies of 1913, Charmian and Jack spent February through July of 1915 and March through August of 1916 in Hawaii where the two relaxed when Jack wasn't writing furiously. Feeling himself stalked by death, Jack wrote, "There's always the Noseless one close by." (*Book of Jack London*, II:371-372) Symptoms of his fatal uremia began to appear, yet he continued to satisfy his voracious appetite for good food and drink.

Many people have been bewitched by Jack London's swashbuckling career, and myths about him abound. Frequently his heroic legend has overshadowed his socialist, intellectual, and artistic contributions to American life.

London did, however, consciously live each day as though it were his last. Despite great personal tragedies and misunderstandings, he never abandoned his search for intense experience.

Jack relaxing in Hawaii

In *The Valley of the Moon*, Jack, as a boy in a skiff with his companion,
Saxon, gazed dreamily beyond the estuary toward the sea:
‘What do you want’ she asked, partly from idleness, and yet with
genuine curiosity; for she felt drawn to this boy in knee pants who was
so confident and at the same time so wistful.
‘What do I want?’ he repeated after her. Turning his head
slowly, he followed the sky-line, pausing especially when his eyes
rested landward on the brown Contra Costa hills, and seaward, past
Alcatraz, on the Golden Gate. The wistfulness in his eyes was
overwhelming and went to her heart.
‘That’ he said, sweeping the circle of the world with a wave
of his arm.

The Valley of the Moon (1917)



*The author at his cottage in Glen Ellen
in 1916, the last year of his life*



Augusto Ferran lo Litógrafió

Litogr^a de L. Marquier C^e de Lamparilla n^o 35

Realizacion.

Selling off

GOLD! but how much?

November 12, 1850. At the Law Line Wharf off Commerce Street in San Francisco, the steamer *Antelope* was taking on passengers. The ship's mate leaned on the rail, studying the inch-by-inch progress of an iron safe being loaded on board. Two men below him on the wharf also watched the safe. Brusquely, the mate asked them whether the safe contained any gold dust.

"Only clothing," came the unlikely reply.

Like the others booking passage, the men were obviously ex-miners returning to the East. The mate therefore persisted in his inquiries. After some balking, the miners admitted to \$3,000 in dust. Then the figure increased to \$5,000—at which time the ship's agent ordered the safe opened. In all, the chest contained \$67,000 of dust, for which \$670 in freight charges, including insurance, was due to the ship's purser.

The *Antelope* departed that day with 250 passengers and \$200,000 in dust, according to the ship's manifest.¹ In reality, however, passengers on the *Antelope*—and on every other ship leaving the San Francisco harbor in the 1850's—probably concealed a considerable amount of additional dust in their luggage, boots, or specially constructed money belts. As a result, estimates of California's gold production in the period have varied widely. Even contemporary observers recognized the problem, and the *London Times* reflected in 1850: "A great deal of mystery is made about the matter . . . and

nobody knows . . . the gold collected or the gold exported." Careful writers today acknowledge the problem.²

A second and more major problem in measuring early California gold production involves the lack of a consistent system of measurement. At first, western authorities measured output in dollars at the point of entry from the fields to channels of trade or circulation in San Francisco. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, statisticians of the Bureau of the Mint and Bureau of Mines instituted another system in which output was measured in a different unit, fine troy ounces, and at a later point in the gold's life—at the refinery. The new statisticians neglected to make allowances for the alteration in method when they extended their figures back in time to the 1850's, however, and, as well, the change to a refinery-stage measurement failed to account for gold which "disappeared" between the mine and the refinery. Between 1848 and 1853, "pipelines" from the mountains to refineries in the East were long and circuitous, and large refineries were slow to appear in the West. Hence, ample opportunity existed for gold to disappear along the way. In 1848, for example, several million dollars in gold dust exchanged hands in and around San Francisco, but records only registered \$45,000 as having reached a refinery before the end of the year.³

A third problem impeding accurate measurement of gold production arises in connection with the flow of gold. As California underwent extraordinary development between 1848 and 1861, the dust at first disappeared in many directions, mainly because no market existed near at hand. A market presupposes buyers with money, money in this case being gold or silver coin. Then, with

Dr. Berry, retired professor of economics and economic history at the University of Richmond, Virginia, has written numerous articles and books, including *Western Prices Before 1861* (Harvard University Press, 1943; Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1960).

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Three "typical" Californians weigh in their gold nuggets on an assayer's scale.



Fronted with iron bars and shutters, the US Branch Mint at San Francisco, on Commercial Street between Montgomery and Kearny, opened in April, 1854.

San Francisco United States Branch Mint.

the establishment of steamer lines to the East via Panama and Chagres, a flow channel developed to the commodity's "best" market, the Philadelphia Mint.

The Philadelphia Mint paid a very high price for gold and after July 1, 1850, offered to pay for silver content as well.⁴ Silver, commonly alloyed naturally with California gold, could account for as much as 8 to 10 per cent of the total dust weight. Not until 1854 did mints on the West Coast employ the relatively expensive process of "parting" and paying for both gold and silver.

While an additional approximately 10 per cent of the recorded shipments of gold dust from California probably proceeded to the East "by hand," as evidenced by the *Antelope* incident, the exact amount of unofficial dust is unknown, and records of corresponding deposits at the United States Mint in Philadelphia show that the percentages of "unofficial" dust varied from month to month. Records also indicate that before 1854 the lion's share of California's gold output either went to the Philadelphia Mint or, to a much lesser extent, to the branch mint in New Orleans. (The remainder, which also figured about 10 per cent of the total, went abroad, largely to London.)⁵

A milestone was attained when heavy political pressure resulted in the establishment of a branch mint

in San Francisco in 1854. Meanwhile, however, private assayers, refiners, and coiners had sprung up to replenish the occasionally depleted supply of circulating medium that occurred, in part, because San Francisco refused to use paper currency.

In a consciously created cycle of scarcity and abundance, private mints in San Francisco produced their largest issues in 1851, 1852, and 1855. As local merchants and bankers became dissatisfied with gold dust received from miners, which varied greatly in quality and purity, they would appeal to the local assay offices of good reputation to mint coins. Wass, Molitor, and Company, for instance, was one of the local private mints. Their coins, regardless of weight when new, were never legal tender. Further, within a few months' time many wore down physically to the point where they were not worth face value.

True opportunists, bankers would then refuse to accept these private coins except at discount, perhaps 10 per cent. They also ceased to pay out the unofficial coins altogether, so that the best outlet for repudiated coins was the mint. Finally a dire shortage of official United States coins would develop, requiring a new issue from private mints, and the cycle would begin again. Frequent articles in the *Alta California*, the *San*

Francisco Prices Current, the *Mercantile Gazette*, and other city papers commented on the current coin situation with reporters noting when it was in abundant supply⁶ and, much more frequently, when it seemed to be disappearing aboard ship.⁷ One plaintive investigation was headlined, "Our Gold—What Has Become of It?"⁸

Local circulation suffered, furthermore, at the end of each year from payments due on the imports that sustained the community of San Francisco. (The city was repeatedly embarrassed financially by its dependence on New York, in particular.) Because dust was easier to acquire in spring when production was heavy than in autumn, payments to the East, most commonly due at the end of the year, drained local circulation—both dust and coin—in the latter season. This heavy monthly fluctuation was primarily due to the rainfall necessary for sluicing gold; peaking in May after a winter of rain, production then dropped about 40 per cent, reaching a low in November (reflecting the summer drought) around the time when debts had to be covered.

On "steamer days" merchants and bankers scrambled for dust and coin to meet their obligations before the departure of their means of transporting the remittance. Frequently, under such pressured conditions, these men agreed to interest rates as high as 10 per cent per month or more. Clearly, in the gold rush boom both San Francisco businessmen and their currency suffered the pains of growing so rapidly.

With time, improvement in the direct flow of gold eased the situation slightly. As the mines fanned out to the north and south of Placerville, the towns of Sacramento and Stockton, respectively, evolved as collection centers. In 1858 Wells Fargo initiated an express service to San Francisco from these cities. In the late 1850's, too, Bay City refiners and assayers began to produce more and more bars of gold because the market for coin became sated, and foreign demand for gold was so intense that bars became more profitable to produce. Some bars were made of fine gold, but many more were "unparted"

gold and silver. All of these developments of progress, however, make it necessary to choose different indicators of gold production and trade so as to measure the true gold output.

Gold production in California began in late January, 1848, with the first discovery of gold on the American River. For the first several months, news of it did not leak out, and production was very small. A few adventurous spirits responded immediately, but the Bay community at large remained nonchalant, if not outrightly disbelieving. The slow trek far up into the hills in hot, dry weather did not immediately entice many to Coloma to try their luck. Eventually, a group from the small town on the Bay stampeded to the hills, and by November, they were sending back appreciable amounts of gold dust to the tidewater. Although this gold dust was pure enough to fetch almost \$18 per troy ounce⁹ in Philadelphia, a market for it had not yet developed in California: nobody had sufficient gold or silver coin to buy much gold dust, so it was worth only what one could get for it.

In fact, just as a good supply had accumulated in the vault of the Collector of the Port, word arrived from the Treasury Department that gold dust was unacceptable for payment of customs duties. The contents of the vault were subsequently auctioned off that December with the top bid only a fraction over \$10 an ounce. In contrast, other sales in 1848 ranged from \$14 to \$16 per ounce. Rather than accept such a discount, two sailors jumped ship from a New Bedford whaler and took their dust home to Massachusetts. East Coast newspapers soon boasted of the sailors' treasure and fanned interest in California that spread like wildfire.¹⁰

Gold production in 1848 thus amounted to very little until the last quarter of the year. All early authorities

Financial Review

Money has been growing gradually easier, and would probably now be quite easy were it not for the long continuance of the dry weather which seriously interferes with the operations of the miners. . . . Rates for loans however remain without change, and the demand for money on the part of the merchants has perceptibly declined. . . . Dust is now somewhat scarce, the long spell of fine weather having dried up the smaller water courses all over the country. There still however must be a very large amount now being taken out, and we are aware that the funds going to the East in private hands are larger than ordinarily is the case. The published returns of the New York Assay Office show how great a quantity of gold leaves California in this manner.

San Francisco Prices Current, March 4, 1856

except John Hittell placed the year's output at \$3 million or \$4 million, measured in California prices. Hittell, a highly knowledgeable writer on California affairs, published a table in 1861 showing California production to be \$10 million that year. Although he retracted this estimate later, it has endured as the figure adopted by the United States Mint for total American, not Californian, production in 1848.¹¹

The estimate for 1848 offered here (see Tables 1 and 2) for production in California, where prices were lower than in Philadelphia in the years 1848 through 1853, is \$3,722,000, which was equivalent to \$5,695,000 at the mint (mint prices). The sources for this estimate are reports of \$1,800,000 in gold sent to Valparaiso and Lima, some \$240,000 carried away by a British cruiser, and \$310,000 which reached the Philadelphia Mint before May 1, 1849. The estimate also includes an allowance of \$510,000 for the gold dust which scattered to Mazatlán, Panama, Honolulu, and other points in the Pacific, and \$3,000 which probably went to New York. An allowance of \$859,000 (30 per cent) represents metal retained in California. The total \$5,695,000 is equivalent to about 275,520 fine troy ounces. By adding the \$851,000 mint deposits from eastern states in 1848, total United States production that year comes to \$6,546,000 or 316,700 fine ounces.

The "official" series derived by the United States Mint represents the necessary conversion of the old system of measurement used by early California authorities—calendar-year gold output in dollar value, or dust entering circulation—into the new one of fine troy ounces given a valuation per ounce. (While it is possible to show, however, that the mint series in fact depends upon dust production and trade in dollars in the early years, the mint maintains that "for 1792–1903, [gold production] figures represent production measured at the refinery stage. . . .") Measurements in this paper are based on dust entering circulation, again following the standard set by the oldest authorities, while mint figures purport to measure the amount of gold entering refineries. As full figures as possible are made herein by re-establishing entry into trade as the point of reference for measurement.¹²

In 1849, with better transportation to the East bringing a heavy influx of prospectors and with new goldseekers arriving from Mexico, the Sandwich Islands, and other parts of the United States, a commercial and financial community in San Francisco began developing at a strikingly rapid rate. Because coin was still scarce, merchants and bankers agreed to accept dust at \$16 an ounce, and the western value of dust began to inch toward the mint value. (California refused to accept paper money, to incorporate banks, or to allow corporations of any kind to issue currency. Several leading legislators hailed from states which had already passed similar measures in an effort to prevent a recurrence of the crisis of 1839–1843, when the West and South suffered numerous bank failures and heavy currency losses.)

Gold production increased in 1849, but the total amount remained modest. The total that year was \$10,577,000 according to the price of gold in California, or \$12,481,000 at the mint. With non-California output added to that figure, total American gold production came to \$13,409,000 or 648,700 fine troy ounces—slightly more than double the estimate for 1848. Again,

Hittell far over-estimated the figure for 1849 at \$40 million. Although he later revised this figure sharply downward, it remains as the mint's official figure for American (not Californian) production.

Between 1850 and 1853 the California gold industry began to boom. Volume was so heavy that it necessitated further improvements in transportation to the East, and assayers and gold refiners flocked to San Francisco, Sacramento, and other points in the state. Waves of immigration swelled particularly in 1850 and between 1852 and 1853. At times during 1851, however, more people were emigrating than immigrating, partly because of a gold strike in Australia. As Table 1 shows, California's output quadrupled between 1849 and 1850 and then increased to a peak of almost \$67 million in mint prices in 1852. Total American production also came to a peak in 1852 with 3,258,400 fine troy ounces.

Another discrepancy in efforts to estimate gold production is apparent in columns D and F of Table 1 where figures are comparable except for 1850-1857. Column D gives the estimates elaborated herein. Column F, on the other hand, represents estimates published by Orris Herfindahl in 1966, which are indirectly based on a questionable source. Herfindahl's figures trace back to those compiled by the one-time chief melter and refiner at the branch mint, L. A. Garnett. Twenty-five years later, in 1883, Garnett became convinced that gold coins privately minted in California had not been sufficiently accounted for in estimates between 1850 and 1857, and he accordingly made substantial additions in large, round sums based entirely on memory.¹³ For 1850 he added \$5 million; for 1851, \$20 million; and for 1852, \$27.5 million, etc. It now appears, however, that the amounts he added had already been included in the mint deposits upon which the early, and present, estimates are based.

Although gold production held up well in 1853 and 1854 and then began to taper off, it remained above \$50 million until 1858. With the opening of the branch mint

TABLE 1
Annual Estimates of California and United States
Gold Production, 1848-1861
(in thousands)

(A) New estimates for California at California prices. (B) New estimates for California at mint prices. (C) New estimates for US at mint prices. (D) New estimates for US in fine troy ounces. (E) Estimates for US in fine troy ounces by US Mint. (F) Estimates for US in fine troy ounces by Orris Herfindahl (1966).

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)
1848	\$ 3,722	\$ 5,695	\$ 6,546	316.7 oz.	484 oz.	145 oz.
1849	10,577	12,481	13,409	648.7	1935	517
1850	45,317	53,021	53,686	2597.3	2419	2090
1851	57,237	64,678	66,092	3197.5	2661	3840
1852	62,868	66,640	67,352	3258.4	2902	4100
1853	63,805	65,719	66,214	3203.4	3144	3400
1854	62,826	62,826	63,160	3055.6	2902	3490
1855	53,491	53,491	53,857	2605.6	2661	2790
1856	56,748	56,748	57,076	2761.3	2661	2880
1857	52,371	52,371	52,716	2550.4	2661	2180
1858	40,894	40,894	41,269	1966.6	2419	2330
1859	47,464	47,464	48,084	2326.3	2419	2280
1860	43,640	43,640	45,244	2188.9	2225	2090
1861	41,602	41,602	44,410	2148.5	2080	1950

1848—Includes recorded and estimated shipments of dust, receipts of the Philadelphia mint to May 1, 1849, and estimates of dust retained in California as circulating medium.

1849-1853—Primarily receipts of mint with addition of shipments abroad and allowances for dust retained in California.

1854-1858—Most dust processed in San Francisco branch mint or nearby private assayers and refiners; therefore figures based on exports of coin or bars at port (rather than lesser branch mint deposits).

1859-1861—Primarily shipments of dust to San Francisco by Wells Fargo with additional 10 per cent for other carriers.

Sources—Series A, B, C, and D: see text. Series E: Series M-246 in *Historical Statistics of the United States* (1958), pp. 346, 371, citing Treasury Department, *Annual Report of Director of the Mint* (1910), p. 99. Series F: Orris C. Herfindahl, *Resources for the Future*, NBER Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, Studies in Income and Wealth, vol. 30 (1960), pp. 323, 326 (figures in millions of ounces, rounded to three digits).

OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA.

Through in Six Days to Sacramento!



CONNECTING WITH THE DAILY STAGES

To all the Interior Mining Towns in Northern California and Southern Oregon.
Ticketed through from Portland, by the

OREGON LINE OF STAGE COACHES!

And the Rail Road from Oroville to Sacramento,
Passing through Oregon City, Salem, Albany, Corvallis, Eugene City, Oakland,
Winchester, Roseburg, Canyonville, Jacksonville, and in California—
Yreka, Trinity Centre, Shasta, Red Bluff, Tehama, Chico,
Oroville, Marysville to Sacramento.

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This portion of the Pacific Slope contains the most BEAUTIFUL and ATTRACTIVE scenery some of the most BOLD, GRAND and PICTURESQUE SCENERY in the United States. The highest snow-capped peaks, Mt. HOOD, Mt. SHASTA and others, deepest valleys and most beautiful lakes.

Stages stop over one night at Jacksonville and Yreka, for passengers to rest. Passengers will be permitted to lay over at any point, and resume their seats at pleasure, any time within one month.

FARE THROUGH, FIFTY DOLLARS.

Ticket Office at Arrigoni's Hotel, Portland.

H. W. CORBETT & Co.,

Proprietors Oregon Stage Line.

PORTLAND July 19 1866

Transportation lines had greatly improved by 1866 when this handbill advertised stage coach connections between Oregon and "interior mining towns."

in San Francisco in April, 1854, California prices and mint prices were equalized; it was no longer necessary to include freight and insurance charges to Philadelphia or New Orleans. Since California dust was generally high in gold content, it commonly brought \$17.50, \$17.75, or even as much as \$18.00 per ounce at the branch mint. Some producers found they could do still better at a private refinery that made bars rather than coin; furthermore, the branch mint was occasionally subject to shutdowns often lasting several months due to shortages of equipment or supplies, particularly nitric acid.

Whereas financial centers in the East suffered economic crises in 1854 and 1857, the first major drop in

Review of Trade

The trade of the year just closed has by no means been a prosperous one. . . . The recent financial disasters in the East reduced the market rates of almost every description of merchandise to an extremely low ebb and rendered purchases of cargoes [in the East] a matter requiring less capital than formerly. These disasters, too, fully tested the capability of our merchants to meet their liabilities. . . .

There has been a good deal of interruption in the operations of the Branch Mint in this City during the year, and at times there has been felt a scarcity of coin, owing to the necessity of shipping Eastward coin instead of bars. The Mint was closed from April 18th to August 10th, and again from October 31st to November 23d. It is now in full operation, however, and meets all requirements.

San Francisco Prices Current, January 4, 1858

TABLE 2

I. Average Annual Gold Production in California and the United States, 1861-1900

	\$ Ca (millions)	\$ US (millions)	%
1861-1865	33.2	44.3	74.9
1866-1870	24.1	50.5	47.7
1871-1875	17.9	36.5	49.0
1876-1880	17.9	42.6	42.0
1881-1885	17.4	32.0	54.4
1886-1890	12.9	33.8	38.2
1891-1895	13.4	37.7	35.5
1896-1900	16.0	65.0	24.6

II. Total Production, 1848-1900

1848-1860	625.6	634.8	98.6
1861-1900	764.0	1712.0	44.6
1848-1900	1389.6	2346.8	59.2

Sources—Ca: San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report* (1902), p. 148. US: U.S. Geological Survey, *Annual Report* (1895-96), pp. 78-79; Robert Ridgway, U.S. Bureau of Mines, *Economic Paper No. 6* (1929), pp. 18-20. Other production estimates vary widely. Wells Fargo, for example, made no distinction between gold and silver until 1870, nor between California and other state sources. In later years Wells Fargo figures applied to the entire territory "West of the Missouri River."

California production (and San Francisco's greatest financial stringency) occurred in 1855, and the second sizable drop in output occurred in 1858—but produced no panic. San Francisco's self-sufficient economy supported her adequately throughout this national epoch of wild fluctuations.

Although gold production exceeded \$60 million annually (in mint prices) between 1851 and 1854, it subsequently settled at \$52 million in 1855-1857 and \$41 million in 1858-1861. Naturally, the local press observed the decline and attempted to explain it to concerned readers. Attention was called to the new interest in agriculture, fruits, fishing, and lumber, and these developments were recognized as in part responsible for the decline in gold production. Many who came to find gold stayed instead to raise wheat. Gold output, which depended largely upon the number of prospectors in the field, suffered in 1858, for instance, when about 25 per cent of California's miners flocked to the Fraser River district in British Columbia in response to a fresh strike.



Express service to San Francisco, initiated by Wells Fargo in 1858, improved the direct flow of gold to Bay City refineries. By 1868, Colfax, this Sierra gold town north of Placerville, was linked by stage lines and the railroad.

(In 1859, a large number became disillusioned with Fraser River and returned to California, but not all of these returned to gold production.)¹⁴

With the incentive of a high premium paid for gold in the East during the Civil War, California gold production continued strong in the early 1860's, as Table 2 indicates. After 1865, however, output decreased from an annual yield of more than \$30 million to around \$15 million, which in turn effected a decline in national production through 1895. In spite of this reduction, California continued to lead the union in gold production except for two brief intervals: it was second to Nevada in 1873-1878 and to Colorado in 1897-1900. More and more areas had begun to produce gold; in addition to Nevada and Colorado, the areas of Montana, South Dakota, Arizona, and Alaska reported respectable volumes. The net result was that California, which had produced well over 95 per cent of the national total in the 'fifties, saw her share drop to 75 per cent in the early 'sixties, to around 50 per cent from 1871 to 1885, to 35 or 40 per cent until 1895, and to about 25 per cent at the end of the century.

The data on total gold output in the nineteenth century, subjoined to the annual averages after 1860 in Table 2, remain impressive today, particularly considering that most of the gold produced—beginning in that frantic and statistically confused era of the strike of '48—is still in existence and will be for centuries to come. California produced almost \$1,400 million in gold in the fifty-odd years before 1900, or some 59 per cent of the national total of gold produced in the nineteenth century. And gold has appreciated considerably since the leading nations departed from an official gold standard. The latest US Treasury auction sale (July, 1975) netted \$165.05 an ounce, but the world price this year is nearer \$125 an ounce. At the latter price, California's contribution during the nineteenth century amounts to about \$8.5 billion.

Illustrations are from the collection of the CHS Library.

Notes

1. See *Alta California* and *California Daily Courier*, November 13, 1850, and the *Sacramento Transcript*, November 16, 1850. The *Transcript* reprinted the account from the *Courier* with remarks, under the heading, "The Gold That is not Counted."
2. *The Times*, cited in the *Sacramento Transcript*, June 21, 1850. See also Rodman Paul, *California Gold* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 345-48; Douglass C. North, *Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York, 1961), p. 255.
3. The sample shipment, which was conveyed to the mint by the Army, tested 894 fine. It was mentioned in President Polk's Message on the State of the Union. *Alta California*, March 8, 1849; *Sacramento Transcript*, August 5, 1850.
4. See *Alta California*, Supplement, September 6, 1849.
5. The amounts manifested for London were commonly stated separately in the ships' reports and tended to remain at just about 10 per cent of the total month after month.
6. See, for example, *News*, June 15, 1850; *Mercantile Gazette*, October 19, 1857.
7. *San Francisco Prices Current*, January 14, 1854; December 15, 1854; January 15, 1855; April 14, 1856; December 4, 1856; *Mercantile Gazette*, January 4, 1858.
8. *San Francisco Prices Current*, January 12, 1856.
9. A troy ounce is one-twelfth of a pound, or 480 grains. One troy pound contains 5,760 grains (0.82286 lb. avoirdupois).
10. For San Francisco's reaction to and coverage of the gold discovery, see *California Star*, June 10, 1848; *Californian*, July 15, September 16 and 23, October 7, November 4, 1848; *Alta California*, January 18, 1849.
Danish consul Suwerkrop (Sandwich Islands) set the 1848 output at \$4 million, but the San Francisco newspapers gave out figures nearer \$3 million.
11. See Hittell, *Mining in the Pacific States of North America* (San Francisco, 1861), p. 39; *History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878), p. 492.
Hittell's earlier figure for 1848 fits 1849 more closely, and his earlier figure for 1849 is a reasonable estimate for 1850. It almost appears that his 1861 table began a year too early. Though he revised all his figures drastically in 1878, the unrevised data form the basis for Series M-246 in *Historical Statistics of the United States* (Washington, 1960), where they become American (rather than Californian) production. Thus, Hittell's estimate of \$10 million for 1848 becomes 484,000 fine ounces (at \$20.67 per ounce, the mint price between 1837 and 1934).
12. *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint for 1910*, p. 99; cited in *Historical Statistics of the United States*, p. 346, and Series M-246.
13. See California State Mining Bureau, *Annual Report* (1896 and later years); *San Francisco Prices Current*, October 27, 1858.
14. *Mercantile Gazette*, September 26, 1859; *San Francisco Prices Current*, November 19-27, 1858.

the cigar-box

San Francisco's pungent weekly political journal, *The Wasp*, may not (as sometimes claimed) have been the first American newspaper to publish cartoons in color, but it must certainly have been the first crusading periodical to have sprung from the inside of a cigar box. For that was the business of the publishers—making cigar boxes from redwoods cleared from the Napa Valley vineyards that were another of their interests—and the first business of cartoonist G. Frederick Keller was lithographing the colorful labels that identified the local stogies.

The Wasp was a paper of political and social purpose, an expression of and a reaction to the realities of the American dream that brought the paper's founders and publishers, Francis, Anton, and Joseph Korbel, from Bohemia to California in the early 1860's. And there was plenty to express and plenty to react to in the centennial summer of 1876, as the *Wasp* gathered together material for its first issue. On the national scene, there was no end in sight to the depression that had deepened since the Panic of '73. The Reconstruction of the Secessionist states was bankrupt as a public policy; federal troops still occupied South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida; the KKK flowered; and the Democratic party was still characterized by much of the Republican press as some kind of society of traitors. Above all, the odious administration presided over by the Hero of the Republic, Ulysses S. Grant, was in its eighth and greatest year of scandals, and President Grant was still aggrieved that his ungrateful party and nation had looked coldly on his modest proposal of a *third term* as a centennial gift to the Republic.

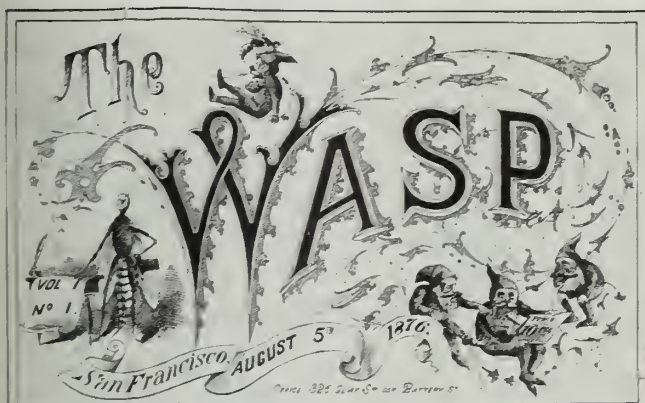
The corruption in Washington reached as far as the authority and officials of the federal government. The Whiskey Ring fraud of St. Louis that involved Grant's personal secretary was matched in San Francisco by a little whiskey-tax evasion at the Bay View Distillery. The sale of trade concessions at military posts that led to the resignation and impeachment proceedings against Secretary of War Belknap may or may not have amounted to much more than the local Navy voucher frauds which involved, among other curiosities, a clerk of enlisted rank who owned a seat on the Mining Exchange. "Reform" was a public cry heard everywhere.

The reformers of August—

By August 5, 1876, the week of *The Wasp's* first issue, the abuse of power that achieved a national record broken only on the eve of our second centennial had led *The Nation* (the ideological voice of the Republican party) to describe the week's testimony before the Whiskey Trial Committee as "confirming the prevailing popular impression as to the relations of the President to the prosecutions; but its revelations of intrigue, corruption, servility, and lying in Administration circles at Washington make up such an exhibition as has never before been presented to the public. The testimony does not involve the President in the whiskey frauds, but it shows that . . . his main interest in the case seems to have been to hamper the prosecution in every way possible." A week later *The Nation* observed, "One of the saddest things in General Grant's career is that he

papers

a local view of the centennial electoral scandals



THE ASSESSOR PERSECUTING THE TWO POOREST MEN IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Make Good by Bully I must go to San Mateo where there are no taxes
Bully Yes I can go to Virginia City but my neighbor, what will I do with it

never will make his conduct square with his friends' theory of his character. Just as they are telling us how 'sagacious' he is, he is pretty sure to commit some piece of great folly; and then, just as they begin to call our attention to his 'simplicity' he will perform some stroke of exceeding shrewdness."

The Wasp was launched on the fair hopes of the Democratic party to regain the Executive branch. Republican malfeasance had given them control of the House in the 1874 elections, and now, in Samuel J. Tilden, reform governor of New York and destroyer of the Boss Tweed and Canal rings, they had a presidential candidate of both political acumen and integrity. The Republicans, barely able to restrain themselves from nominating the slightly tainted spellbinder James G. Blaine, had nominated a compromise candidate in Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. As no scandal attached to Hayes, the worst that could be said about him was quickly said by *The Wasp*: "[Grant] retires from public life a disgraced man. And so it will be with Hayes, or any other man who goes into office with such supporters and advisors as now rule the Republican party."

In the same week that *The Wasp* tarred Hayes with guilt-by-association, reformer Henry George (whose progress was yet local but whose poverty had been alleviated by appointment as a gas-meter inspector), addressed a San Francisco audience in this more high-minded tone: "Fellow citizens—we are coming to another Presidential election under circumstances which ought to give a fresh impulse to patriotic feeling. . . . Can we not, should we not put away from us in this

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. XX—No. 100 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1876 [WITH A SUPPLEMENT PRICE TEN CENTS]



Centennial year all the rancor of party feeling? Can we not, should we not, make this Presidential election in fact, what it is in theory, a great council of the nation, to which we come not as adherents to viral factions, but in the temper of men with mutual bonds and common interests counseling with each other as to what is best for all? . . . Now, however much we may differ on minor questions, it seems to me that the great body of the American people must find common ground on one thing—the desire to restrain political corruption. . . .”

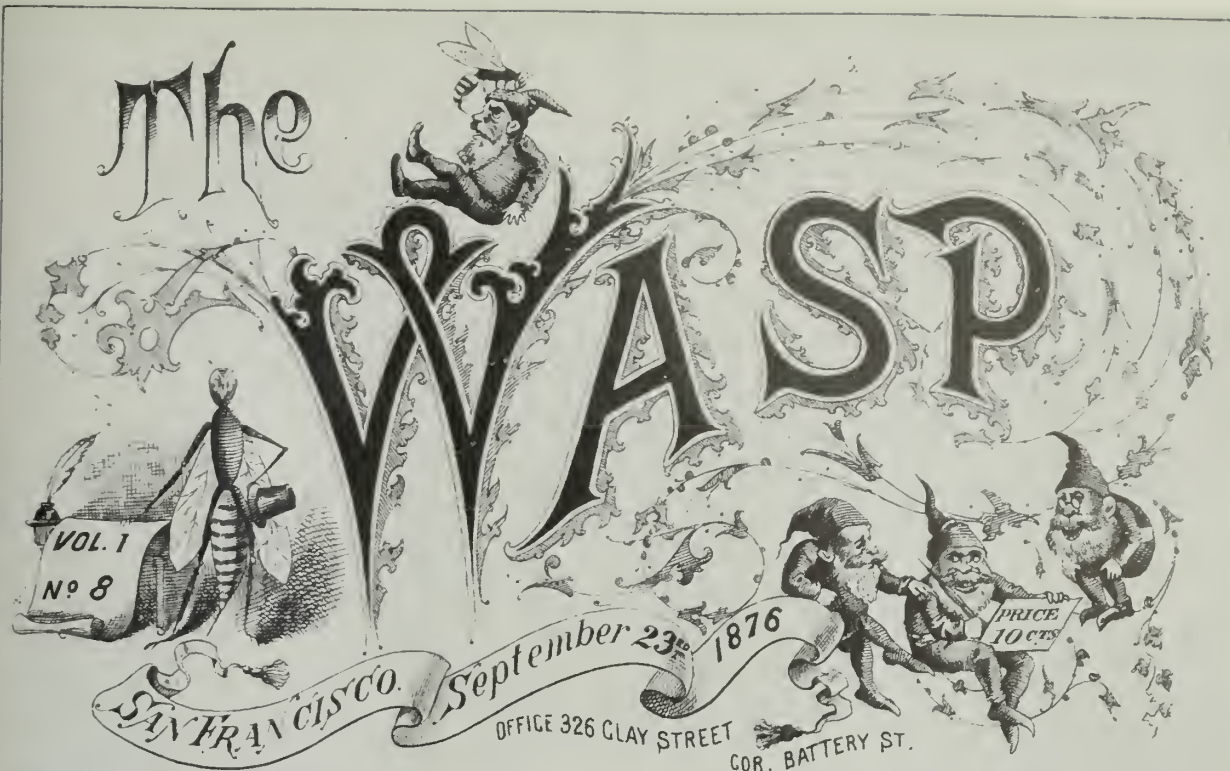
From July to September—

George’s listeners were members of a Democratic Tilden club, which made it easy to talk about putting aside rancor in restraining political corruption. The kind

California Historical Quarterly

of rancor that George wanted to be put aside, the sort of differences on minor questions which should be ignored, were in good part expressed in the Thomas Nast cartoon served up by *Harper’s Weekly* (a “journal of civilization,” according to its masthead) shortly after the Democratic convention. Here is the Tammany tiger (a savagely foul blow at the Democratic New York political machine) fitted up with two heads belonging to the “hard money” Tilden and the “soft money” (greenback and silver) vice-presidential candidate Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. Democrat “Reform” is smeared as humbug and sham, while the Tammany boss who has glued together the beast barks, “I’ll bet \$10,000 that this is the greatest Deformed (Reformed, I mean) Animal going; \$10,000 that this double-headed, double-faced Tiger can be turned any way to gull the American People. . . .” The elements that Nast implied but failed to work into this piece are that Tilden got rich as a railroad lawyer, that the Democrats are the party of treason, and that the fugitive Boss Tweed will be returned to greater glories as soon as Tilden is elected. These oversights were soon made good in cartoons to come.

Off to a late start anyway, *The Wasp* was having trouble working up some effective visual rancor in response to the weekly blows of the national magazine. Cigar-label maker Keller was no Nast, but worse, he had not yet found his style. The best he came up with in the first two months of the campaign was this desolate drawing of September 23 charging the Republicans with actually spending some money in California, which had elected a Democratic governor in ’74. Editorially, *The Wasp* was doing better, making a good case for Tilden’s record as a reformer, smearing Hayes with convincing-looking (though probably spurious) ties to the American Alliance, a peculiarly rabid xenophobic group that would go so far as to deny voting privileges to foreign-born citizens, and humorously exposing the local “Hayes Invincibles” as a secret club of petty political grifters.



PUBLISHED BY THE WASP CO

RECORDED AT SACRAMENTO CAL BY THE PUBLISHERS OF THE WASP.



HAYES PROVIDING GORHAM AND SARGENT
WITH THE SINEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR CALIFORNIA.



THE ADVANCE GUARD ON THE WAY TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

On the march in October—

By October 21, just two weeks before the election, Keller finally got an issue he could sink his teeth into, and he produced a cartoon, "The Advance Guard on the Way to South Carolina," that gave good indication of the style and punch that were to mark his work a year or two later. Grant, in a move of most sagacious simplicity, had sent more troops to lightly-occupied South Carolina to maintain order—of course at the request of Republican Governor Chamberlain—because "certain combinations of men against the law known as rifle clubs are riding up and down by day and night, in arms, murdering some peaceable citizens and intimidating others and they cannot be controlled by ordinary justice. . . ." Keller has the whole gang on the march—the Whiskey Ring

and Ben Butler (whom even *Harper's* could not abide) on his hobby horse, Schuyler Colfax, Secretary of the Navy Robeson, New York senator and would-be kingmaker, Roscoe Conkling, unreconstructed Reconstructionist Senator Morton of Indiana, and the crooked Secretary of War Belknap urged onward from the rear by a worried Grant. But surely the Negro standard-bearer is suggesting a *rematch* of Bull Run (under terms of sure victory) rather than a "repeat?" And why is Belknap, resigned months since, in the company? One thing we do know is that Keller often worked in a dreadful hurry, getting out a cartoon when the press was just about ready to run.

Nast's cartoon of the same date does credit to his savagery, but labeling the Democratic wolf in reform sheep's clothing seems unnecessary even in an era when



lots of labels were the rule. Even thinner was the accompanying editorial, which maintained that "it was an hitherto unconsidered fact that Mr. Tilden, if successful, could be elected only by the 'solid south' with the aid of its old democratic allies in the North. . . ." Bosh!

This was a Republican nightmare of long standing. *The Nation* pointed out not merely the political significance of Grant sending troops south to maintain order during the election, but glimpsed, as in a second's nightmare, what was actually going to happen in the election of this glorious centennial year: "If the election should prove, as seems likely now, very close, it may easily turn upon the vote of a single Southern state, as for instance, South Carolina. . . . It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the [Republican] Senate would throw out the vote of South Carolina to secure

the election of Hayes or the [Democratic] House to secure that of Tilden. . . . It does not seem to be generally known that there is no provision, constitutional or legal, which disposes of questions concerned with the electoral count. . . ."

November 7—The long night begins—

Though it was a hundred years ago, the telegraph system was wonderfully extensive, and ballots seemed to get counted up about as fast as they sometimes do today. By the time that the candidates went to bed it was pretty clear that Tilden had carried the day. But editor James C. Reid of the rabidly Republican *New York Times* was still up watching the latest returns in the wee hours of what turned into a four-month election night.



ALL OVER, AT LAST .

Reid suddenly saw that the three federally-controlled southern states could give Hayes a one-vote margin. Before any foolish admissions of defeat might come through from any one of these states, he roused the Republican Chairman Zach Chandler, and they fired off telegrams to the Republican bosses in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida which read: "Can you hold your state? Answer at once." The *Times* was able to announce by its second morning edition that the election was in doubt but that it looked like 184 electoral votes for Tilden and 185 for Hayes.

The press in general was confused. On November 11, *The Wasp's* lead editorial spoke simultaneously about the ringing vote for reform, the slight uncertainty as to the name of the victor, and the reasons for Hayes' defeat. The *Wasp* cartoon of this date, "All Over, At Last," reflects the cartoonist's inability to say anything of substance the morning after about the results of the election.

By November 18, *The Wasp's* schlock cartoon, "The Political Problem Unsolved," echoed the "poison-both-your-corrupt-parties" editorial. "We think none will dispute with us when we assert that there could be found 5,000,000 men tomorrow, who would swear to anything under heaven for a slight remuneration, to place Rutherford B. Hayes or Samuel J. Tilden in the presidential chair. . . ." While the estimate was no doubt conservative, the fact was that substantial remuneration, limited to the select membership of the Republican state canvassing boards of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, was what the Smart Money was advising. On the 25th, when *Harper's* belatedly got around to showing "Mr. Republican Citizen" sharpening his pencil in the assurance that Hayes would not be unfairly counted out, *The Wasp* was stiffening its position and chiding the local *Alta California* and *Chronicle* for howling and ranting "at 'Democratic frauds,' when there is no proof on earth that there has been any frauds

1876.

AMERICANS!

REMEMBER, WE ARE NOT UPON THE EVE OF A REVOLUTION.

REMEMBER, GENERAL GRANT IS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

REMEMBER THAT BUCHANAN IS NOT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

REMEMBER, THERE ARE NO TRAITORS IN THE CABINET NOW.

REMEMBER THAT IT IS THE COUNTRY WHICH IS AT
STAKE, AND NOT GAMBLERS' POOLS.

REMEMBER THAT WE DON'T SCARE WORTH A CENT,
AND IF HAYES IS ELECTED, HE *SHALL* BE INAUGU.

RATED.

"The 'Solid South' has gone for TILDEN and HENDRICKS, and, by the God of battles, they shall be inaugurated!"—*Evansville (Ind.) Courier (Dem.)*.

"To see and dare
and decide, to be a
fixed pillar in the wel-
ter of uncertainty."

THOS. CARLYLE.

[That's U. S. GRANT.]

MONUMENT
IN
HONOR(?)
OF
ADAMS
FALL
BOSTON
MASS

MASS

THE \$OLID
\$OUTH
MUST BE
WATCHED
OR THEY
WILL PRE

REFORM IS
NECESSARY
AND WE
MUST WATCH THAT
IT IS CARRIED OUT IN GOOD
FAITH.

[illegible]

NO REST FOR THE WICKED—*ENTRUSTED TO MORE HARD LABOR



THE POLITICAL PROBLEM UNSOLVED, BOTH PARTIES ROTTEN AND THE COUNTRY IN DANGER

committed by the Democratic party here or elsewhere.” (Oh, maybe a ward-level hanky-panky excepted.)

Whatever bribes the Tilden forces may have offered the canvassing boards of the three southern states, the flying teams of Republican bigwigs (including such luminaries as James A. Garfield and John Sherman) offered something better, and the Louisiana Returning Board was even able to change a very large Democratic majority into a large Republican majority. But the Democratic locals stood by their first returns, declared their state officers elected (along with Tilden), and duly held their own electoral meetings. In Oregon, Democratic Governor Grover had pulled a switch favoring Tilden by declaring one elector, Watts, a fourth-class postmaster, constitutionally ineligible to participate in the election. Being less needy, if not less greedy than the Republicans, the second Oregon electoral set amounted to two votes for Hayes and that vital *one* for Tilden.

New Year—same election—

As the new year 1877 dawned, the count stood at 204 for Tilden and 185 for Hayes—at least in one of the ingenious scenarios suggested by Henry George in *The Wasp*. Alternatively, George suggested, maybe the vote was 184 for Tilden and 162 for Hayes. In any case, as George was able to show at studious length, Tilden won the necessary one vote, most obviously in any case where the vote of any contested state was rejected and the election thereby thrown into the Democratic House of Representatives for want of a majority.

As the Republicans sought a congressional formula that *had* to give them a chance of holding every one of the necessary twenty contested votes, a public of less mental agility than Henry George sagged under partisan journalistic interpretations of niceties that had escaped even the San Francisco logician the first time around.

The Wasp cartoon of January 13, 1877, captures the mood of the masses, albeit with the conventional stereotype cartoon figures of the times (as appropriate to this situation)—the brainless Dinky and the Neanderthal Mick.

The compromise of February—

But a great compromise was being worked out in Congress—and on February 3, *The Wasp* reported, “It is clear from the support given the bill in both Houses by the Republican members, that they consider Mr. Hayes to be badly beaten in the disputed States, and accept this peaceful and honorable way of disposing of his chances without humiliating themselves or the party to which they belong.” True enough, the compromise formula appealed to the Democrats because it appeared likely that they must win at least one of the twenty contested votes—which was all they needed—but it also gained Republican support because it opened the opportunity for them to sweep all the disputed votes—which was the only outcome that could do them any good. The bill’s electoral appeals commission consisted of five solid Democrats and five solid Republicans from the House and Senate and five justices of the Supreme Court (two acknowledged to be Democrats, two sure to vote Republican, and a fifth impartial justice to be selected by the other four justices). This commission would hear state votes called into dispute by either the Democratic House or the Republican Senate.

The fifth justice, who for practical purposes *was* the commission, was beforehand privately agreed to be David Davis of Illinois, a man in whom the Tilden camp had reason to have confidence. However, just a week before *The Wasp* waxed so enthusiastically about the certain impartiality of the commission members, Davis had suddenly achieved his political dream: the Illinois legislature had elected him to a vacancy in the Senate. If the Democratic-Liberal majority in the



Illinois legislature were in their right minds (for surely they could have delayed the appointment a month), we must assume that Davis wanted his political payoff assured in advance. He, of course, did not have to resign from the Court to accept the Senate seat immediately—but he did! (So that it wouldn't look as though his election had been a bribe?)

Justice Joseph P. Bradley, a Grant appointee, was the nearest thing to (Democratic) impartiality left. When Bradley went home on February 8, to sleep on the first

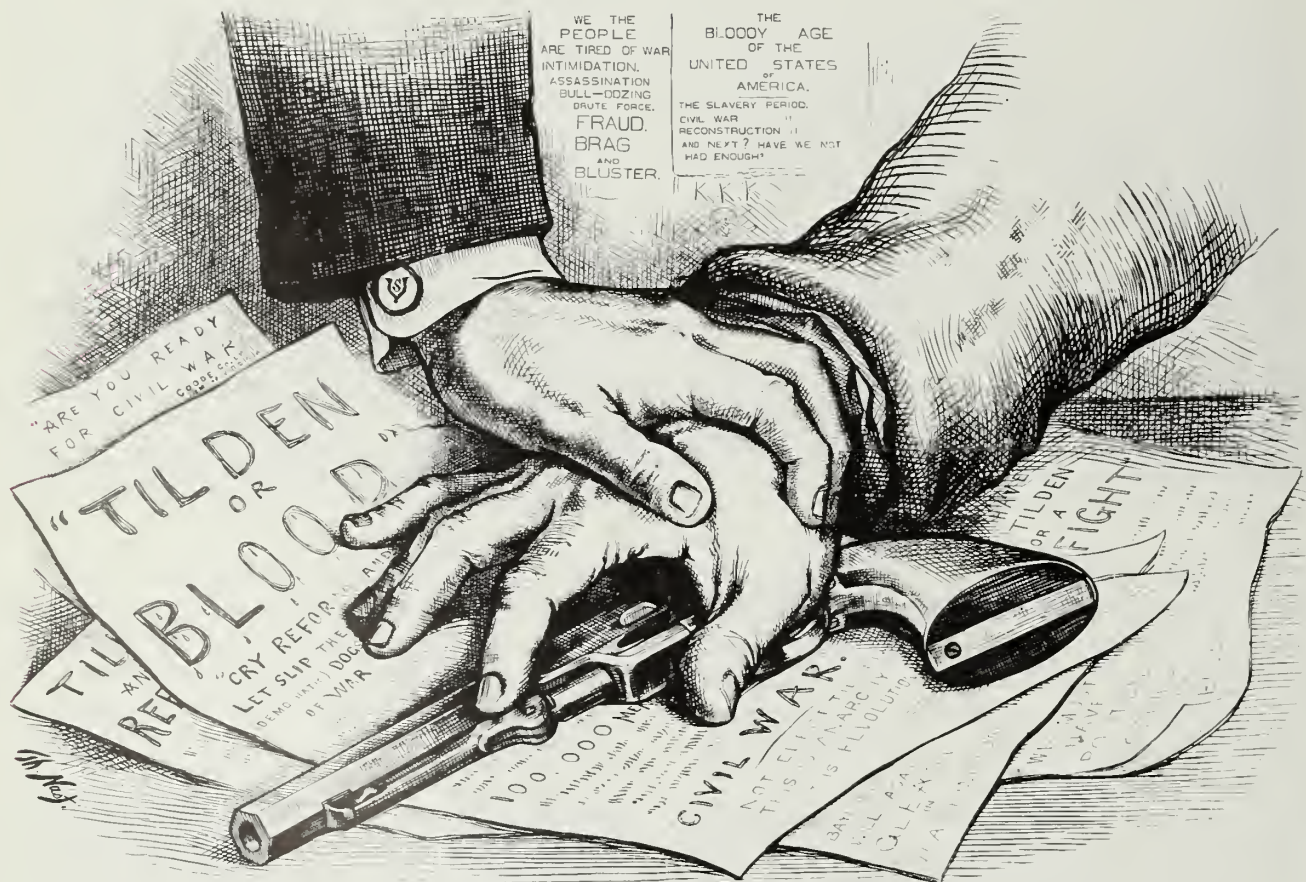
state challenge—Florida—he had night visitors. His Tilden friend came first and went out to discreetly spread the good news that Florida was theirs, the election won. The Republicans, including his wife, batted last. And in the morning Florida was in the Republican Hayes column.

The Wasp held out hope that the flagrant Louisiana case might be decided differently—but it wasn't. *The Wasp* editorialized, "With the decision of Louisiana and Florida before our eyes, as given by those judges,

how, we ask, can any man have faith in the honesty of those judges? How could any man expect a fair decision from those men, where a political interest would be at stake against the rights of a humble citizen? Impossible." The distressed Keller was at a loss to come up with a good cartoon, while Nast commented on the angrily inflammatory mood of some Tilden supporters as the Republican party-line votes rolled through the commission. Restraining the Tilden gunman is a firm, cufflinked hand bearing the initials "US"—Uncle Sam, United States, or even Ulysses S.?

March—the bitter end—

It was all over. Oregon, South Carolina, desperate challenges of electors from end-of-the-list Vermont and Wisconsin. In the hour of despair, Keller did his best cartoon, "Bulldozing," of our longest political season. It was March 3 when *The Wasp* showed the partisan electoral commission ramming Hayes through the White House wall with an inside assist from Grant. Tilden's key to the proper door is simply labeled "to (sic) large."



A TRUCE—NOT A COMPROMISE, BUT A CHANCE FOR HIGH-TONED GENTLEMEN TO RETIRE GRACEFULLY FROM THEIR VERY CIVIL DECLARATIONS OF WAR.



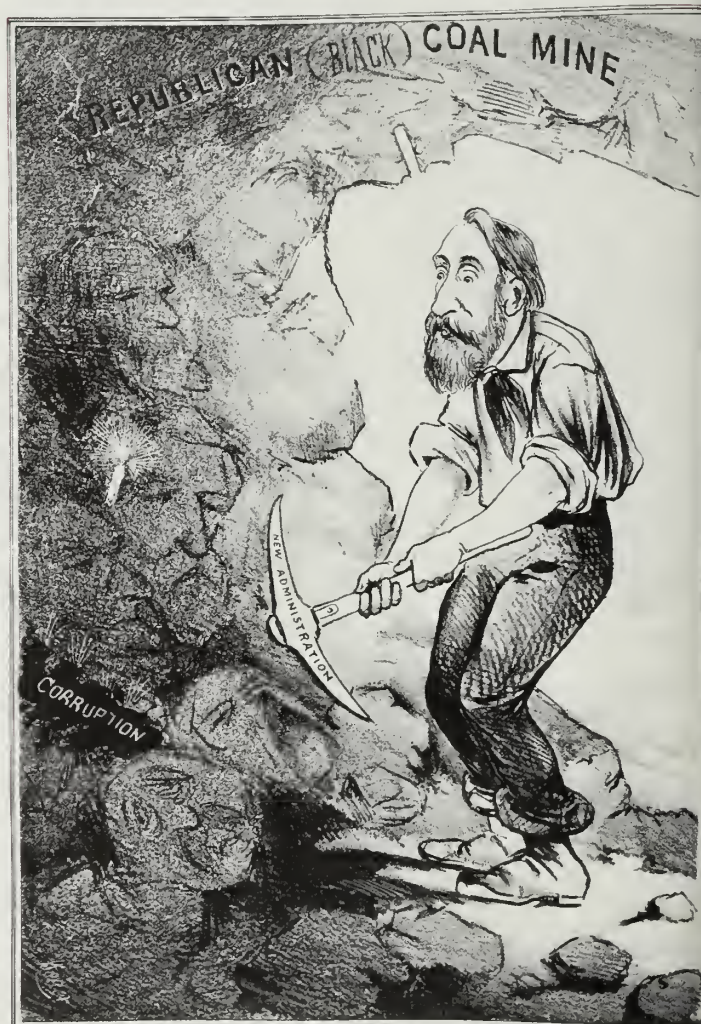
"BULLDOZING"



THE OLD STORY

In the aftermath, Keller's art looked better yet. *The Wasp* had introduced color-printing in December, and Keller's style seemed to develop well in conjunction with the use of these bold washes, in which the black crayon was still relied upon for intensity. The Fox and the Grapes cartoon from March 17, 1877, depicting Hayes' victory of 185 to Tilden's 184 electoral votes, is a handsome and good-tempered piece, and Keller's "Big Bonanza" of March 31 is sweetly funny, in a way that Nast never was.

Hayes' election to "The Fraudulency" haunted his administration. The Democratic House inquiry of 1878



A "BIG BONANZA" FOR MR. HAYES.

exposed the southern dealings, and while it took an embarrassing turn when the coded telegrams from Tilden headquarters were exposed and some of his key campaigners revealed that they had talked bribe money to the southern canvassing boards, it was pretty clear that Tilden's never-disputed majority of popular votes (larger than any the next three presidential campaigns produced) was not his only claim to a fairly-won election.

Some ingenious historians have sought to prove that Hayes really did carry the popular vote in all the disputed states, but such arguments run up against a funny fact: In all three southern states in doubt, the Democratic votes for *state* officers were finally accepted and Democratic governments were installed. Can anybody believe that in the emerging Solid South in an era of the straight party ticket, the voters in just these three states would split their ballots. No, the Republican party leaders agreed to accept the three Democratic state governments to avoid possible violence or an endless filibuster in the House beyond March 4 when Grant's term expired that would have posed yet another constitutional crisis.

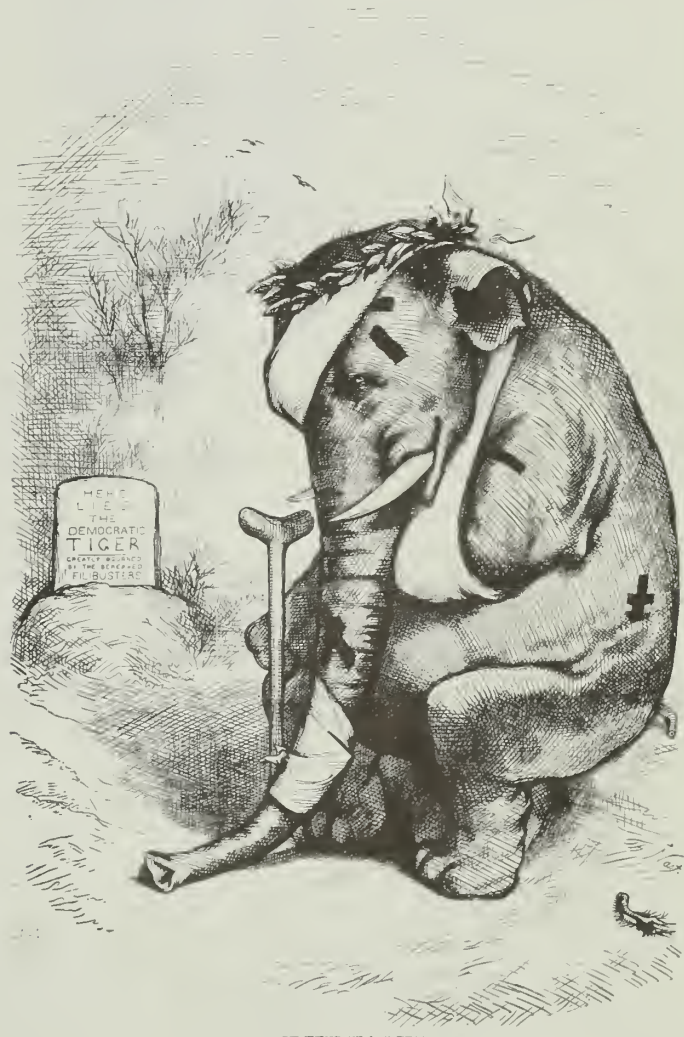
Many of Tilden's intimates urged him early in the controversy to simply announce his victory and prove his intention to take the office. But such was not his style, and it is probable that he was responsible for refusing to close the bribery deals that were discussed. He is said to have refused to buy what was rightfully his.

On December 2, President Grant had issued, "No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud." After the election was over, Samuel Tilden said, "I can retire to private life with the consciousness that I shall receive from posterity the credit of having been elected to the highest position in the gift of the people, without any of the cares and responsibilities of the office."

The Wasp summed it up as follows: "After four months of unprecedented turmoil, confusion, political strife, perjury, fraud, corruption, and almost complete

stagnation of business, the nation has at last secured a President. . . . During all the excitement which has just passed, *The Wasp* has pursued a moderate course, believing that violent attack upon the leaders of the Republican party would only tend to stir up bad feeling among our own citizens on this coast. . . ."

Thomas Nast's battered Republican elephant quoted Pyrrhus: "Another such victory and I am undone."



"ANOTHER SUCH VICTORY, AND I AM UNDONE."—PYRRHUS

Sources in the Streets:

The Sather Gate Handbill Collection of the
University of California Archives

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

In November of 1934 the country and the state suffered from the grip of the Great Depression, and the prices of eggs and tomatoes were such that the hand-sized objects could be hurled as missiles at students at the University of California, Berkeley, who called for a strike to protest the suspension of five fellow students at the University of California, Los Angeles, for "alleged communistic activities." The protest and its counter-protest took place (coincidentally on Election Day) at Sather Gate—then an official southerly entrance to the university—because political rallies were not allowed on campus.

Although this rally and other gatherings of early November upheld "the right of free speech" (words re-echoed on the same spot exactly three decades later), they served as prototypes for the series of rallies which began six months later in the spring of 1935. By then the impending war in Europe had become an issue, and a handbill distributed to curious passers-by read:

Today we are faced with an immediate prospect of an even greater war than the last. The time has come for the majority of students to voice its opposition to the belligerent minority which fosters the militaristic spirit and threatens world peace.

A portion of the same handbill distributed on the street south of the campus on March 7 announced a meeting scheduled for the following evening. On the same day, another Sather Gate mimeographed sheet protested the visit to the campus of sailors from the German training ship, *Karlsruhe*, this document issued jointly by the League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League.

Shortly thereafter, several students were arrested by the Berkeley city police for illegally distributing handbills in violation of a city ordinance. After some deliberation the executive committee of the Associated Students recommended to the university's administration that "students be permitted to distribute leaflets at the gates of the university, subject to proper regulations to insure

Dr. Kantor is University Archivist at The Bancroft Library.

WHY WE SUPPORT THE ANTI-WAR STRIKE.

REASON No. 4



HOLD HIM!

Issued by the Young Communist League

COMMUNIST CAMPANILE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE LINCOLN STEFFENS BRANCH OF THE Y. C. L.

SIT DOWN AGAINST WAR



WHICH WAY FOR THE PEACE STRIKE?

CHINESE STUDENTS
And The Chinese Army

A LIBERAL STUDENT LOOKS AT GEN-
ERAL BARROWS . . . or the rover boys in
europe

ECHOES from the BELL TOWER campus
news unsuppressed

A REPORT ON THE CYA HEARINGS

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA . . . an account of
some recent visitors to California:

ANDRE MALRAUX
ANNA LOUISE STRONG
MAURICE HINDUS

Book Reviews
Poetry

BERKELEY CALIFORNIA
APRIL 1937

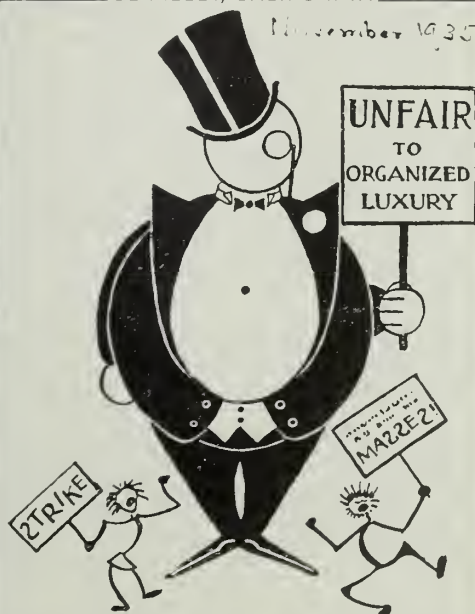
ON APRIL 22nd

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PAUNCH

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

November 1935



THE UNITED FRONT OF CAPITALISM

Summary Observations of Red Activities During the Fall Semester

Prior to the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1939, the campus' Young Communist League organized anti-war strikes which they publicized through handbills denouncing jingoism and the Communist Campanile, their five-cent journal.

Paunch, a take-off on the British humor magazine, Punch, poked fun at left and right-wing campus politics in the mid-1930's.



Chancellor Strong

FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT NEWSLETTER

FSM



Mario Savio



(photos by s marcus)

In late 1964 UC Berkeley's Free Speech Movement, focused on protagonists Mario Savio and UC Chancellor Strong, sparked nationwide campus demonstrations which continued throughout the 1960's.

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS take their stand for free political expression.

that there will be no distribution of literature contrary to public order or to the interest of the university, and to insure a cleaning up after distribution." Thus began the circulation of "Sather Gate Handbills."

Copies of these mimeographed documents became the first items in what has become a multi-volume collection housed in the University of California Archives, a component of The Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley. The collection owes its inception to the foresight and conscientious activity of Joseph Cummings Rowell, a graduate of the university in its Class of 1874, the university's first Librarian from 1875 until his retirement in 1919, and its first Archivist, until his death in 1938. In his retirement Rowell continued to collect materials, and, all told, his association with Berkeley, begun as a freshman in 1870, extended sixty-eight years.

Soon after his librarianship appointment by The Regents in 1875, Rowell began to put aside a collection he called "U. C. Docs."—catalogues, registers, student newspapers, and faculty writings, which formed the nucleus of today's University Archives, which contains more than 8 million manuscripts, 14,000 bound volumes, 13,000 photographs, and numerous items of memorabilia, making it one of the largest as well as oldest such University Archives in the country. So it must

have seemed natural, six decades after his first appointment, for Rowell to see in these ephemeral handbills (at one time they would have been called "dodgers") an important resource for the eventual documentation of the university's history. More than one graduate dissertation in recent years has depended upon them.

The earliest of the handbills in the archives dates from March, 1935, and through the remainder of the decade and into 1941 the anti-war movement continued to be a "burning issue" and to generate paper. One reads: "Collective Security Means War! . . . While our boys go abroad to fight for 'Democracy,' Roosevelt's war department is preparing to abolish democracy at home!" A cartoon of April, 1938, shows a pedagogical Woodrow Wilson smiling at student F.D.R., with a caption reading: "Peace equals war. War equals profits. Profits equals 10 million dead. Total sum equals world saved for democracy."

With the entry of the United States into World War II, such protests ceased. Accordingly, documentation breaks until March, 1946, when the matter of "Fair Employment Practices" surfaced into student consciousness. Later in 1946 the cause of Zionism and a homeland for Europe's remaining Jews became the theme for many of the handbills: "5 million dead! Is Palestine the

answer?" The national election of 1948 spirited a Students for Wallace movement, which seems to have blanketed the Sather Gate area for a number of weeks, and during the following year students were concerned with the Loyalty Oath controversy which threatened to topple the university. A handbill distributed on August 31, 1949, pictures a university Regent holding in his lap a well-known dummy, with a caption reading: "Charlie McCarthy Would Make a Lousy Professor!" During the Korean War more attention seems to have been paid to the growing national concern with subversion in high places than to the war itself, and with the end of hostilities in the Far East there is a marked falling-off of circularizing activities.

Later in the 1950's the rise of the campus' first student political party, SLATE, directed attention to problems closer to home, and early in 1960 both the Cuban Revolution and the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco seized the imaginations of the propagandizers. But the great flood of handbills in the University Archives collection begins with the Free Speech Movement in September, 1964, and continues unabated until the waning of the Vietnam War in 1972. Both the Third World Liberation Strike of January, 1969, and the People's Park Controversy of May, 1969, produced a plethora of paper, and each of these events is represented by a thick volume. Within the past four years only a trickle of such ephemera has been produced on the Berkeley campus, which reflects an apparent change in focus and in style on the part of students.

Numerous inquiries about these materials from individuals and institutions throughout the country concerning the possibility of copying documents has led the University Archives to film the great bulk of the collection. Now five reels of positive microfilm of "The Sather Gate Handbill Collection" may be purchased, enabling this rich gathering, reflecting almost four decades of "student protest," to be available for research outside the immediate confines of The Bancroft Library.

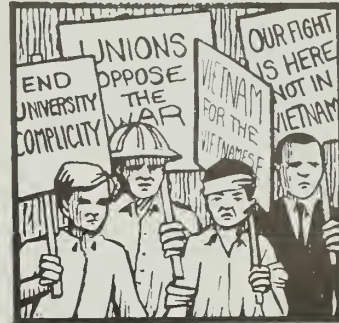
The anti-Viet Nam War movement produced a flood of handbills at Sather Gate, including this call to mobilize in 1966.

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CAMPUS MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE RALLY

Peter Camejo Frank Bardache
Ken Stahl

Bettina Aptheker Hadj Razavi

FRIDAY NOON
SPROUL HALL STEPS

CAMPUS MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

 **SOD**
BROTHER

Save People's Park

Berkeley businesses sympathetic to the explosive People's Park cause displayed this poster in 1969.

Book Reviews

Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932.

By Gene E. Carte and Elaine H. Carte. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. x, 137 pp. Illustrations. \$7.95.)

*Reviewed by Nathan Douthit, Associate Professor of History,
Southwestern Oregon Community College, Coos Bay, Oregon.*

The Cartes' book adds to a small, but increasing number of studies in police history. It is the only one, excluding studies of J. Edgar Hoover, which presents a biographical treatment of a police chief. Its worth should be measured against such investigations of police history as Roger Lane's study of the Boston police, James F. Richardson's study of the New York police, and the recent volume, *Police Forces in History*, edited by George L. Mosse.

With the help of his wife Elaine, a free-lance writer, Gene E. Carte, a professor of criminal justice at the University of Cincinnati, has written a book about a man who has become a near legend in police circles. August Vollmer, who first served as town marshal and later as police chief of Berkeley, California, in the years 1905-1932, developed a reputation as the most enlightened, innovative, and "professional" police administrator in the United States.

This biographical study presents a factual picture of his career based on the Vollmer correspondence located at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; an oral history project consisting of interviews with surviving associates and friends of Vollmer completed in 1972; and other published writings by Vollmer himself, or about him and the Berkeley Police Department. Although the biography may seem lacking in details of Vollmer's personal life, this is not the Cartes' fault. Vollmer was a prolific writer (four books, nearly fifty articles, numerous police department surveys, and miscellaneous introductions, forewords, and other essays), but he rarely wrote about his private life, even in his extensive professional correspondence.

What is the significance of Vollmer's career? Why is he regarded as the father of police professionalism? The answer lies in his efforts on behalf of improving the education of police officers, the application of science and administrative principles to policing, the removal of police administration from politics, and the adoption of the latest technology in police work. The Cartes point out that Vollmer's "New Policeman" was first of all a crime fighter. But he also stressed

community involvement and tried to redefine police work to include a major role in crime prevention, especially in relation to juveniles. The Cartes argue that this created a conflict in roles, that the "New Policeman" could not be a detached crime fighter and involved in community life at the same time.

Although the Cartes concede that Vollmer's model of police professionalism has had a positive effect on the technical side (including traffic control and criminal investigation), they express strong fears about the implications of the model for democratic control of the police. Professionalism, they argue, sets the police apart from the community; it creates an attitude of elitism which makes police unwilling to listen to criticism by individuals or groups of citizens.

The Cartes bring a reformist point of view to their writing on police reform history. It is this quality which distinguishes their writing on police history from the studies mentioned earlier. Their study lacks the background of detail on the history of Berkeley as a city needed to place the police function in its larger urban setting. Except for relatively brief sections, their study also fails to relate Vollmer's career to other developments in criminal justice during this period. Although it accurately portrays the details of Vollmer's life, its chief value may be less as biography than as a work of critical police science and sociology which places police professionalism in a much needed, though narrowly focused, historical perspective.

Charles F. Lummis. The Man and His West.

By Turbesé Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. 230 pp. Illustrations. \$17.50.)

Reviewed by Gary F. Kurutz, CHS Library Director.

Charles Fletcher Lummis, that colorful evangelist of America's Hispanic heritage and the founder of the Southwest Museum, has long attracted the fascination of scholars and historians. His daughter and son, however, have created the most valuable study of this remarkable Californian. Turbesé Lummis Fiske, after her father's death in 1928, began to study his voluminous works, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, and journals with the purpose of telling her father's story to America just as he told America about the Southwest. Before

Charles Fletcher Lummis in 1889, the passionate Californian in his favored corduroy suit. Collection of Keith Lummis.

completing this undertaking, Turbesé died in 1967, and Keith, the youngest Lummis son, took her manuscript and shaped it into a magnificent biography of a man who embodied the "Land of Poco Tiempo."

Born in Connecticut in 1859 and educated at Harvard, Lummis left the East Coast on foot for Los Angeles at the age of twenty-six. Along the way, Lummis wrote descriptive letters of his adventures for the *Los Angeles Times* of Colonel Harrison Gray Otis. After he finished his 3000-mile walk, which later became the basis of his book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, Lummis went to work for the Colonel's paper as the city editor. This great trek, however, infused Lum, as he was called, with a life-long love for the Southwest and a deep appreciation of its Hispanic traditions. As a result, this New Englander devoted his considerable energy and literary skills to promoting, interpreting, and conserving for America the significance of this vast and beautiful land.

During his lifetime, the "Crusader in Corduroy" labored for the preservation of California's missions by establishing the Land Marks Club, fought for the rights of Indians by creating the Sequoia League, recorded with his camera and wax cylinders the folklore and culture of the children of Coronado and the cryptic rights of New Mexican penitents, archaeologically explored with Adolph Bandelier much of the Southwest, as well as Guatemala and Peru, and served as the innovative and controversial city librarian of Los Angeles. As an enduring monument to the American Indian, this champion of their culture built the magnificent Southwest Museum in the Highland Park area of Los Angeles. Moreover, this vigorous individual battled paralysis, blindness, rocky marriages with Dorothea and Eve, and individuals who opposed his ideals.

As well, the corduroy-clad "Don Carlos" channelled his energy into writing scores of articles and books about his experiences and love of his adopted land—publications ranging from the tiny *Birch Bark Poems* of his youth to the classic *Land of Poco Tiempo*. In 1905, Lum became editor of the Southern California booster magazine, the *Land of Sunshine* (later *Out West*), and skillfully used the monthly to push his own views and causes. Significantly, during his editorial tenure, Lummis attracted articles by California's young and promising intelligentsia. It was through Lummis' encouragement that Mary Austin, Eugene Manlove Rhodes, and Sharlot Hall realized their literary potential. Additionally, John Muir, Lack Jordon, David Starr Jordon, Theodore Hittell, Mary Hallock Foote, and Charles F.



Holder made frequent contributions. Lummis embellished the magazine with many photographs made with his own camera and encouraged illustrative contributions from such distinguished artists as Maynard Dixon, William Keith, Alexander F. Harmer, and Thomas Moran.

From El Alisal, the great boulder home that he built with his own back and hands in the Arroyo Seco, Lummis entertained his numerous friends. Charles Russell, Frederick Remington, Ed Borein, Carl Oscar Borg, Ina Coolbrith, Joaquin Miller, John Burroughs, Greek George, A. C. Vroman, and Stewart Edward White, among others, signed the House Books and were regaled with singing, dancing, and lavish Mexican meals. Lummis often posed his famous and distinguished guests before his 8 x 5 dry-plate camera. El Alisal, built near a great sycamore, emerged as the philosophical, artistic, and cultural heart of Southern California and attracted the great minds of the state in a manner rivaled only by the Bohemian circles of San Francisco and Carmel.

Turbesé Fiske and Keith Lummis in this handsome vol-

ume offer students of California and the Southwest a fresh look at this multi-faceted individual. Lummis' crusading spirit has often engulfed his biographers, but in this work his children have refrained from excessive adulation. Rather, they successfully present a personable look at his volatile romances, psychological traumas, feuds, and triumphs.

Although other biographical sketches have appeared, this latest work presents for the first time a substantial amount of primary materials. The authors successfully intertwined their own narrative with lengthy quotations from letters, diaries, journals, and Lummis' reminiscences entitled "As I Remember." Don Carlos' offspring further enhanced the book with high quality reproductions of dozens of photographs, many of which Lummis took himself. Certainly, a highlight of the book is the reproduction of thirty-five pages from the House Book of El Alisal which the great artists of the American West adorned with charming vignettes.

Lastly, the Lummis children have captured the essence of the man by presenting the works of his own creativity—namely the photographs, letters, books, and drawings of the things he loved and for which he crusaded. It is a superlative work that gives us a richer understanding of one of California's most magnetic characters.

Nothing Seemed Impossible: William C. Ralston and Early San Francisco.

By David Lavender. (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1975. 415 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

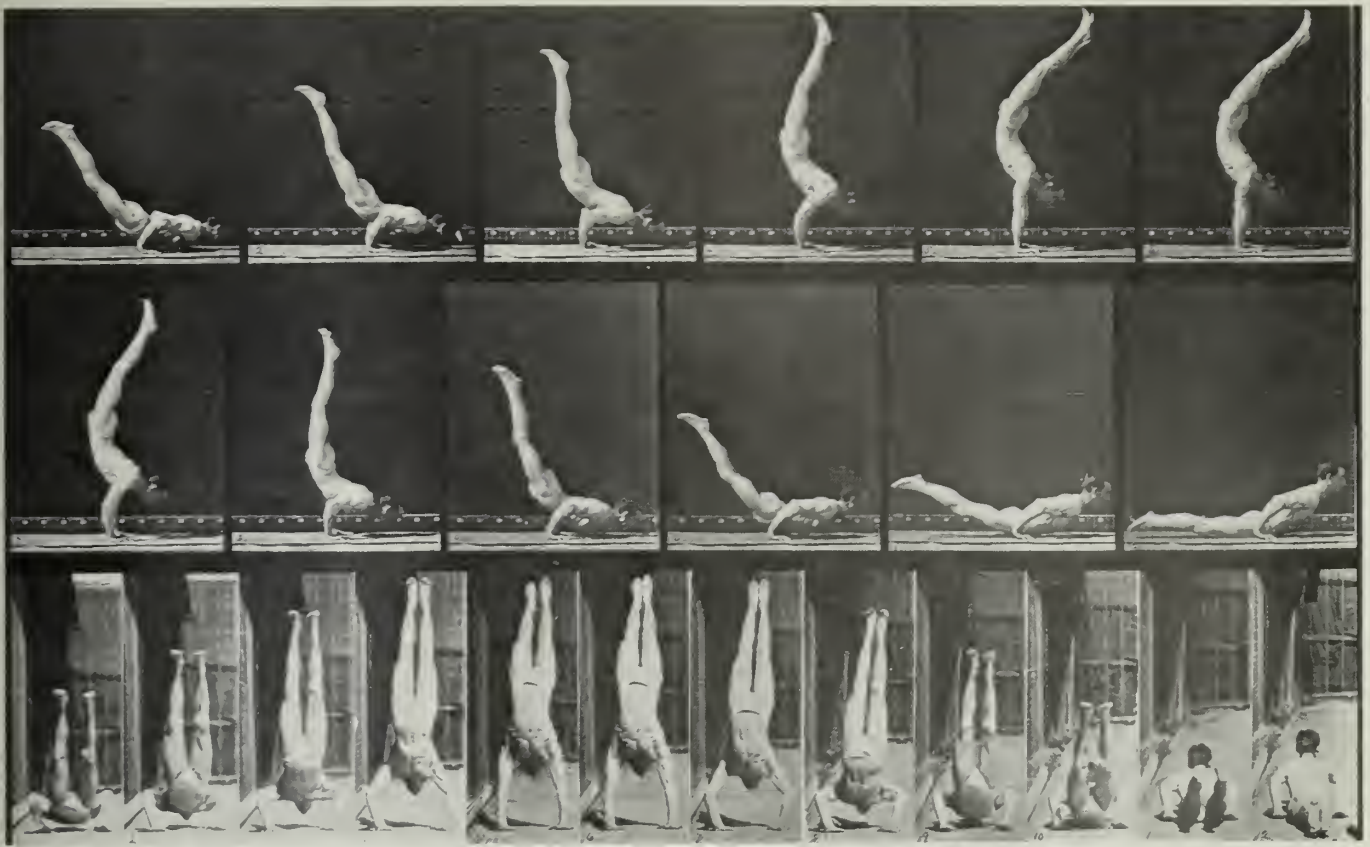
Reviewed by Gunther Barth, Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley.

The books about William C. Ralston which appeared in quick succession in the 1930's seem drab indeed beside this lavishly illustrated and attractively designed biography of the founder of the Bank of California. However, the noteworthy characteristics of the earlier publications have found their way into the new biography, and in the right proportion. There is the solid foundation researched by Cecil G. Tilton in 1925, and there are, fortunately to a lesser degree, the colorful stories about Ralston's far-ranging enterprises, particularly in Nevada, preserved in the newspapers of the 1860's

and 1870's. After all it was Tilton's master's thesis in economics at Berkeley that provided the backbone for Thomas C. Barclay's article in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1935) and that became, in greatly expanded form, Tilton's real contribution to the subject, his *William Chapman Ralston: Courageous Builder* (Boston, 1935). Anecdotes and intimacies loomed large in Julian Dana, *The Man Who Built San Francisco: A Study of Ralston's Journey with Banners* (New York, 1936), while George D. Lyman, *Ralston's Ring: California Plunders the Comstock Lode* (New York, 1937), concentrated on one of the Ralston enterprises.

David Lavender has done much more than assemble another life of Ralston or add another title to the *Western Biography Series*. He has followed clues in the Ralston correspondence in the archives of the Bank of California and has put Ralston's far-flung activities, from his coming to Panama in 1849 to his death in the Bay of San Francisco in 1875, in a broad context. He depicts his Ralston against the background of a detailed regional panorama of reckless enterprise drawn from the lives of many entrepreneurs. He portrays him as a man possessed by a speculative urge and an exalted vision of San Francisco, California, the West, and himself. He finds him inextricably involved in ships and railroads, in gold, silver, coin, and greenbacks, with wheat and diamonds, land and water thrown in for good measure, in the myriad enterprises and schemes that lead to his downfall. Although sensitive to the familiar speculations about Ralston's end, such as conspiracy and suicide, the gist of Lavender's biography shows a Ralston consumed by the forces he helped to unleash but failed to control.

For his treatment of the subject, David Lavender's remarkable record of writings in western history stands him in good stead, perhaps too good at times, as far as the focus of this book is concerned. His approach is not of that school of historical scholarship which finds its task analogous to the work of an artist who reduces an entire scene to a few lines. He neither stresses such a possible goal of biography as the working of the mind nor concentrates on the interaction between an individual and society. His work evokes an intricate mosaic with elaborate borders containing so much detail that sometimes they gain their own identity. His interest in the biographical sketches of lesser figures appears rather uneven; James King of William, Agoston Haraszthy, and Adolph Sutro receive biographical sketches, but Clarence King, John Mackay, James G. Fair, James C. Flood, and William O'Brien do not. And yet, David Lavender's



artistry has established its distinct mark in long years of dedicated and successful writing. It reflects fascination with detail as well as the large scene, and his mastery of that combination has produced another stimulating book.

Muybridge, Man in Motion.

By Robert B. Haas. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. x, 207 pp. Illustrations. \$18.50.)

Reviewed by David Bohn, photographer, photography teacher, book designer, and author of several publications including Kinsey, Photographer (1975).

Eadweard Muybridge in his grave must look with gratitude and affection toward Robert Bartlett Haas who, across two decades of research, managed to untangle (mostly) the life of a remarkable man—photographer/business man/inventor/lecturer/writer. Haas's *Muybridge, Man in Motion* is a tightly written distillation of what had to be a rather staggering mass of material, given the complexities of this early photographer's seventy-four year journey. The text, then, is an admirable presentation of one of the most difficult and outstanding careers in the history of photography in America.

However, since the written word constitutes only part of a photographer's biography, I do not think Muybridge in his grave is looking with affection toward the University of California Press where the book was put together. The problem is rarely solved adequately, and here it has not been solved at all. Visually the book *feels* like a catalogue. A good portion of Muybridge's life—his soul—resides in his glass negatives, and, allowing for the appalling economics of publishing a photographic book, when the photographs are reproduced poorly and, in addition, arranged as if the man's soul could be catalogued, a large part of the *raison d'être* for the photographer's biography disappears from view, especially because Muybridge was such a consummate craftsman with his original prints. In fact, to this reviewer the visual presentation of everything in the book is dull. The typeface chosen surely has nothing to do with Muybridge and is set too small for decent readability; the footnotes are set in ultra-minuscule size; the captions do not separate easily from the text—and so forth and so forth. In other words, the book is an amazingly uninviting visual porridge which does no justice to Robert Haas's major contribution.

In the final chapter, Haas gives us a critical overview of prior Muybridge scholarship, "Centennial Estimate 1931–1972," and shares some stories of his own initial and subsequent involvement in the monumental project. This fascinating section (and, also, the next to last chapter, "An Esti-

mate 1904-1931"), gives a beautiful perspective to Muybridge's career and the fuzziness which surrounded it for so many years. If only the whole of Part Eight—those last two chapters—had been placed up front, the visual inertia which confronts the reader might have been more easily overcome. Thus, I recommend starting at the *end* of this book where Haas, so far as I am concerned, delivers a marvelous abstract on the life of Eadweard Muybridge, still-photographer extraordinary and father of the modern motion picture.

*The Valley of Santa Clara:
Historic Buildings, 1792-1920.*

By Phyllis F. Butler. With Architectural Supplement by the Junior League of San Jose. (San Jose: Junior League of San Jose, 1976. 192 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95 plus \$1.00 tax and postage. Order from Junior League, 1010 Ruff St., San Jose, CA 95110.)

Reviewed by Kevin Starr, author of Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915 (1973).

This new study—so well designed, so superbly illustrated—is a success on a number of levels. First of all, it documents and describes the canon of Santa Clara Valley architecture: a continuity of construction running from preconquest adobe, through the balloon-frame frontier, through Gothic and Queen Anne days of provincial quiet, ending in the virtual flowering of good architecture witnessed by the Santa Clara Valley from the erection of the Stanford quadrangle in the late 1880's through such astonishing feats of elegance and grace as Willis Polk's Blaney Villa in Saratoga and the Villa Beaulieu he did for Charles Baldwin in Cupertino. Phyllis Butler and her associates from the Junior League of San Jose have in words and photographs put on record what is in its eclectic way one of the most exciting architectural regions of California, north or south.

Because urbanization came late to the area, a wealth of early construction survived. The sociology of construction varied from simple farm cottages built for people of middle income through villas built for the rich. Thus in range, variety, and historical extension, the architecture of the Santa Clara Valley, as put so magnificently on record in this

charming book, virtually recapitulates the entire architectural history of greater California. From Mission Santa Clara to the functional modernism of the Hoover House, no phase of California design escaped the Santa Clara Valley or the scrutiny of this study.

De Anza, Vancouver, Bayard Taylor, John Muir, William James: a harvest of testimonies exist extolling the sun-drenched loveliness of Santa Clara Valley, the topography of which (like the architecture which adorns it) is quintessentially Californian: mountain, valley, and sea. It was the first region in California to experience suburbanization, becoming after the 1860's the place of elegant summering for San Francisco's rich. It supported working farms and ranches through the 1950's and a flourishing village life. Thus arises the variety so evident in this book—and thus also a certain social and cultural drama akin to that of novel or history. Phyllis Butler has given us stories—superb stories—to go with architecture; for it is not styles and trends which account for building, it is the hopes and dreams and passions of men and women, of Californians seeking a measure of peace and a place in the sun. Peter Coutts, building his Normandy-style cottage on what became the Stanford estate; Judge Hiram G. Bond, a self-made millionaire who entertained young Jack London at his ranch near Santa Clara (and whose dog appeared as Buck in London's *Call of the Wild*); Don Luis Maria Peralta, an early founder of San Jose; Henry Miller, the cattle king; Mrs. Virginia Baldwin, the beautiful silver heiress; James Duval Phelan, United States senator and patron of the arts; Phyllis Butler continually gives us the human dimension behind the architectural façade. Her story is implicitly the story of California aspiration, and she tells it well.

Photographs are well-chosen and well-displayed. Again, there is care for the social and human factor. The Stanfords at croquet on a great green lawn; the flower-bedecked living room of the Rengstorff house in Mountain View, decorated for Elise Rengstorff's wedding to William Haag in 1889; a lazy afternoon on main street Saratoga in 1894; cowboys of the Coc Ranch high on the Pine Ridge east of Morgan Hill; the promenading of guests across the great lawn at Senator Phelan's Villa Montalvo sometime in the early 1920's. Such suggest the sort of life lived in these houses in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Santa Clara Valley: leisurely, spacious, touched by elegance and grace; or workaday—in the matter of cottage, schoolhouse or country church—but here also, tempered by the aesthetic, as in the case of St.

Anthony's Catholic Church on Bertram Road in New Almaden, a little jewel of shingled Gothic, or the sturdy American honesty of the Grange Hall (1892) in Coyote.

Valuable in itself as an act of documentation, *The Valley of Santa Clara* by Phyllis Butler and the Junior League of San Jose is also valuable for the stimulus it offers to those who know and love California with an informed intelligence and a receptive imagination, for here is put forth an example of the rich accomplishment of our State in the area of domestic living, of life seeking beauty and repose, and often finding it. This discovery, so savored in this work of evocation and cherishment, might indeed be our greatest achievement.

Number One Son.

By Monfoon Leong. (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Company, 1975. xiv, 304 pp. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Reviews Editor.

Truth may be stranger than fiction, but fiction can sometimes tell us more of the whole truth than straight, unadulterated historical fact. Such is the case with Monfoon Leong's *Number One Son*. The book contains a novel and a collection of short stories which deal with the Chinese experience in California. Taken together, the stories cover the period from the gold rush to the post-World War II era. Some characters and families appear in different stories at different times in California history; thus, the book can serve as an informal, personal record of more than a century of Chinese American life.

For the historian, *Number One Son's* greatest strength is that it puts flesh on the factual historical skeleton created by such traditional sources as immigration statistics and official reports. The book personalizes Chinese American history and allows us to better understand the thoughts and feelings of the anonymous men and women who comprised the statistics and the collective subject of the reports. Leong was a careful literary craftsman, and though his plots occasionally slip into melodrama, his characters and literary images are strong and authentic. The description of the voyage from China to California contained in the novel *Precious Jade* is by itself worth the price of the book.

Most of the stories were written in the 1950's, long before

the term "ethnic studies" was invented. Yet the book would make an excellent supplementary text for many ethnic studies as well as regular California history courses. For the general audience, the book provides both informative and enjoyable reading.

According to Chuck Chan's introduction, Monfoon Leong was a "rarity in his time, a bicultural man who accepted his ethnicity." He was born in San Diego's Chinatown in 1916, studied writing in college, and taught school in Oakland and San Francisco. His work remained unpublished because editors of literary magazines claimed that they liked "the quality of the writing," but that his works had "no readership." Tragically, Leong died in an auto accident in 1964, and publication of his stories was finally arranged more than a decade after his death by his wife, family, and friends. Family members contribute illustrations to the book, and profits from the sale of the volume go to a memorial fund at Cameron House in San Francisco.

The book itself is a worthy memorial to a talented Asian American author. It gives us an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the thousands who participated in the great migration from Asia and who built new lives and institutions in California. *Number One Son* deserves far more critical attention and many more readers than it thus far has attracted. Certainly, a widely-distributed paperback edition is in order, but in the meantime, copies of the current edition can be obtained from the publisher at 758 Commercial Street, San Francisco.

Port Los Angeles:

A Phenomenon of the Railroad Era.

By Ernest Marquez. (San Marino: Golden West Books, 1976. xiii, 143 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, author of California: A History (New York, 1969) and Cleland Professor of History, Occidental College.

Port Los Angeles represents a skillful combination of efforts by photographic and map archivists, an author who actually lived on the site which he affectionately describes, and a topic of considerable interest. The volume is not another of those pretty "picture books" that masquerade as history. It

concerns what became of Rancho Boca de Santa Monica, a Mexican land grant given in 1839 to the author's two great-grandfathers. In 1891, Collis P. Huntington bought land near the oceanside, which was to become today's city of Santa Monica. He planned to build, largely at government expense, a major Pacific Coast seaport, to have been named "Port Los Angeles." He also built there the longest wharf in the world at the time of its construction. It stood just to the west of Santa Monica Canyon. The book illustrates, with original photographs, the construction of that remarkable structure and tells the story of its operation and ultimate destruction.

Another part of Southern California's history involves the rise and fall of the fortunes of Senator John P. Jones' Los Angeles and Independence Railroad. This enterprise was to have been the means by which Port Los Angeles would be supplied. Today only a few granite boulders and some short lengths of railroad track (being utilized as parking lot barriers along the beach) constitute the sole physical proof that the Jones and Huntington enterprises ever existed.

Jones and Huntington's ill-fated projects at Port Los Angeles helped to determine the future location of Los Angeles Harbor. Eventually San Pedro, instead of Santa Monica, became the main roadstead on the sea for the largest city west of Chicago. But that is another piece of history—only touched on tangentially by Marquez. The photographic record which he has reconstructed is an admirable pictorial contribution to the local history of California. It stands in contrast to those wretchedly-constructed non-books that are regularly ground out by publishers anxious to tap the sales possibilities of "glamorous California." We need more such serious, yet graceful, studies that tread the line between popular and scholarly publishing.

California: A Bicentennial History

By David Lavender. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976. ix, 243 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Carey McWilliams, historian, editor, and author of numerous seminal articles and books on California and its social groups.

This volume is part of a series—The States and The Nation—published by W. W. Norton & Company for the national

Bicentennial of the American Revolution and the American Association for State and Local History, with financial support for "editorial work" from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The general editor of the series is James Morton Smith, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The author of the present volume is the well-known California historian, David Lavender. The volume is indexed, contains some suggestions for further reading, and reproduces fifteen handsome photographs by Joe Munroe.

The assumption on which the series has been projected is a sound one: "Each state's experience differs instructively; each adds understanding to the whole." The history of the states is, therefore, very much part of the history of the nation. What the general editor has requested of the contributing authors is "a summing up—interpretive, sensitive, thoughtful, individual, even personal—of what seems significant about his or her state's history. What distinguishes it? What has mattered about it, to its own people and to the rest of the nation? What has it come to now?" An excellent editorial specification.

David Lavender has written exactly the kind of "bicentennial history" of California that he was asked to write. It is accurate, balanced in its interpretations, insightful, succinct, well-organized. It moves along at a good clip and is happily free of repetitions and asides. If it has a fault it is the lack of personal comment which the general editor of the series had invited. David Lavender is not to be found on any page of this admirable guide; he is simply not present. This is unfortunate. His personal feelings and reactions might have added a dimension of interest to certain sections, notably those on the state's politics, and might also have enlivened the writing which tends to be a bit pedestrian. As Mr. Lavender sees it, California is "a very special place." In brief his theme is California's "exceptionalism." It is a sound theme, and he does very well with it. It is no easy task to isolate the state's exceptional qualities and characteristics—social and historical as well as geographical—and then to trace the complex interactions and inter-relationships. Mr. Lavender has added to the themes acceptability by his thoughtful and patient exposition of how in California one difference has begat other differences in endless proliferation.

The series of which this volume is a part should serve an important need. Prior to the Centennial of 1876 most American "history" tended to be of the local variety. But

once the Centennial had taught the American people that they had a history, national histories rapidly overshadowed the state and local variety. An early effort to remedy this situation was a remarkable series of articles on the states—then forty-eight in number—which Ernest Gruening projected as editor of *The Nation*. The articles were later collected and published in two volumes under the title *These United States*. Recently re-issued, this work has never received the attention it merits; the individual articles are first-rate and some, for example, H. L. Mencken on Maryland, are of enduring excellence and interest. Later the WPA Writers Project Series helped fill the need for good up-to-date state histories. The present series, which is well-timed, should meet the need for good, readable guides to the fifty states for the next decade or longer. Of the other volumes which have been projected for the series those by Lawrence Clark Powell on Arizona and Wilma Dikeman on Tennessee should be of special interest.

A Trace of Desert Waters: The Great Basin Story

By Samuel G. Houghton. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976. 287 pp. Maps, illustrations, bibliography. \$17.75.)

Reviewed by Richard G. Lillard, professor of American Studies and English, California State University, Los Angeles, and co-author of The Great Southwest.

This book's subtitle is more appropriate than its title. Houghton organizes his book around five water systems or areas: the desert lakes in southeastern Oregon and adjoining corners of California and Nevada; the Lake Lahontan drainages; the basins in central Nevada; the Death Valley, Salton Sea, and other briny waters in southeastern California and northern Baja California; and the Lake Bonneville phenomena in Utah. But in his text Houghton regularly concerns himself at length also with geology, aboriginal cultures, and the explorations and developments of historic times, notably railroads.

Houghton properly makes much of archaeological findings in Gypsum, Lovelock, and other caves, for such studies reveal a great deal about prehistoric streams and lakes. In contrast, he neglects the use of water in mining

operations and the details of water exploitation for irrigation and recreation. Though he takes up contemporary pollution in Lake Tahoe, he ignores the earlier tale of devastation in the Tahoe watershed by loggers harvesting timbers for the Comstock Lode towns.

A Trace of Desert Waters limits itself in geographical space to the vast dry domain of more than a hundred present-day enclosed basins. It restricts itself to the last 75,000 years. In many ways it is an inventory. Houghton's research has been as extensive as careful, a labor of love. (Apparently his studies ended before the publication at the University of California, Davis, of the W. Turrentine Jackson and Donald J. Pisani investigations of California-Nevada water controversies from 1865 to the present.) His maps and bibliography are useful. Many passages are full of interest—for instance, the sections on Pyramid Lake, Danger Cave, and soil stratification. Houghton touches on problems that are bound to intensify as use of water by cities increases but the greatest total use of water continues to be agricultural. He does not cite any proposal coming from the Great Basin that parallels what has come from central Arizona, namely that urban and recreational uses be given priority over agricultural ones. He does emphasize that populations in Great Basin states need to economize on water by treating and using sewage effluent, say, or by preventing transpiration and seepage of ditch and reservoir water, or by storing water in aquifers.

Houghton's style is frequently stilted in phrasing and in transitions between topics. Over and over again he self-consciously announces that he will take up a certain subject in a later chapter. Yet he communicates a devotion to the huge, special landlocked domain in seven states. He provides a detailed overview of a fascinating portion of North America.

California Check List

Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Bean, Lowell J. and Thomas C. Blackburn. *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1976. 452 pp. \$6.95.

Beck, Warren A. *The California Experience: A Literary Odyssey*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc. 1976. 343 pp. \$5.95.

Beilharz, Edwin and Lopez, Carlos. *We Were '49ers. Chilean Accounts of the Gold Rush*. Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1976. \$9.95. Publisher, 474 S. Arroyo Parkway, Pasadena, CA 91105.

Bogart, Sewell. *Lamriston: An Architectural Biography of Herbert Edward Lam*. Portola Valley: Alpine House Publications, 1976. 194 pp. Illustrations. \$35.00. Publisher, 848 Portola Road, Portola Valley, CA 94025.

Bolkhovitinov, Nikolai H. *The Beginnings of Russian-American Relations, 1775-1815*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976. 484 pp. \$35.00.

Briggs, Walter. *Without Noise of Arms. The 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Search for a Route from Santa Fe to Monterey*. Flagstaff: The Northland Press, 1976. 224 pp. Illustrations. \$30.00.

Carosso, Vincent P. *The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895* (reprint). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 241 pp. \$12.50.

Clarke, Charles G. *Early Film Making in Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. 59 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00. Publisher, 535 North Larchmont, Los Angeles, CA 90004.

Crowe, Rosalie and Sidney B. Brinckerhoff (editors). *Early Yuma. A Graphic History of Life on the American Nile*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1976. 135 pp. Illustrations. \$17.95.

Eakins, David W. (editor). *Businessmen and Municipal Reform: A Study of Ideals and Practice in San Jose and Santa Cruz, 1896-1916*. San Jose: Sourisseau Academy for California State and Local History, 1976. 22 pp. \$2.00. Publisher, San Jose State University, San Jose, CA 95192.

Engstrand, Iris Wilson. *Royal Officer in Baja California, 1768-1770. Joaquin Velazquez de Leon*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. 133 pp. Maps. Illustrations. \$24.00.

Faulk, Odie B. *The U. S. Camel Corps. An Army Experiment*. New York: Oxford University Press. Illustrations. \$9.75. Publisher, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

Fava, Florence M. *Los Altos Hills*. Woodside: Gilbert Richards Publications, 1976. 135 pp. Maps. Illustrations. \$14.95. Publisher, 4125 Woodside Road, Woodside, CA 94062.

Gonzalez, Carlos. *An Overview of the Mestizo Heritage: Implications for Teachers of Mexican-American Children*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1976. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94112.

Harlow, Neal. *Maps and Surveys of the Pueblo Lands of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. \$75.00.

Heizer, Robert F. and Martin A. Baumhoff. *Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California* (reprint). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. \$24.95.

_____. *Some Last Century Accounts of the Indians of Southern California*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1976. 92 pp. \$4.95. Publisher, P. O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.

Higgins, L. James. *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections at the Nevada Historical Society*. Reno: Nevada Historical Society, 1975. 305 pp. \$7.50.

Hill, Mary. *Geology of the Sierra Nevada*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 238 pp. Maps. Illustrations. \$8.95.

- Hoffman, George. *Sausalito—San Salito. Legends and Tales of a Changing Town*. Corte Madera: A Woodward Book, 1976. 245 pp. Illustrations. \$5.00. Publisher, Box 773, Corte Madera, CA 94925.
- Houghton, Samuel G. *A Trace of Desert Waters. The Great Basin Story*. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976. 288 pp. Illustrations. \$17.75.
- Howard, Donald M. *California's Lost Fortress. The Royal Presidio of Monterey*. Carmel: Antiquities Research Publications, 1976. 103 pp. Illustrations. \$3.95. Publisher, P. O. Box 4606, Carmel, CA 93921.
- King, Kenneth Moffat. *Mission to Paradise: The Story of Junipero Serra and the Missions of California*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1975. 190 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95.
- Kroeber, A. L. *Yurok Myths* (reprint). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 528 pp. \$18.50.
- Lavender, David S. *California. A Bicentennial History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1976. 243 pp. Maps. Illustrations. \$8.95.
- McWilliams, Carey. *California: the Great Exception*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1976. 377 pp. \$4.95.
- Matson, Robert William. *William Mulholland. A Forgotten Forefather*. Stockton: Pacific Center for Western Studies, 1976. 89 pp. Maps. \$7.00. Publisher, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211.
- Miller, J. Marshall. *La Casa de Geronimo Lopez*. Alhambra: Books International, 1976. 4 pp. Publisher: 134 Stockbridge Avenue, Alhambra, CA 91801.
- . *Mission San Diego de Alcalá*. Alhambra: Books International, 1976. 7 pp.
- . *Ranchos San Pasqual, Santa Anita and San Jose*. Alhambra: Books International, 1976. 7 pp.
- Morgan, Neil and Tom Blair. *Yesterday's San Diego*. Miami, Florida: E. A. Seemann Publishing Inc., 1976. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.
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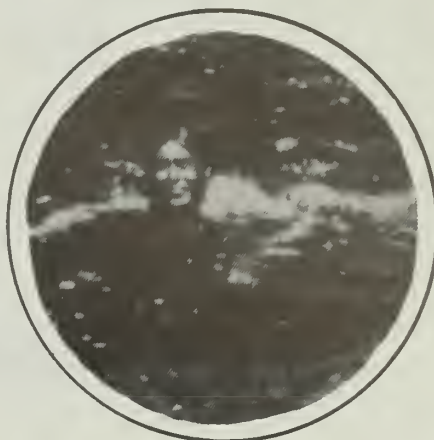
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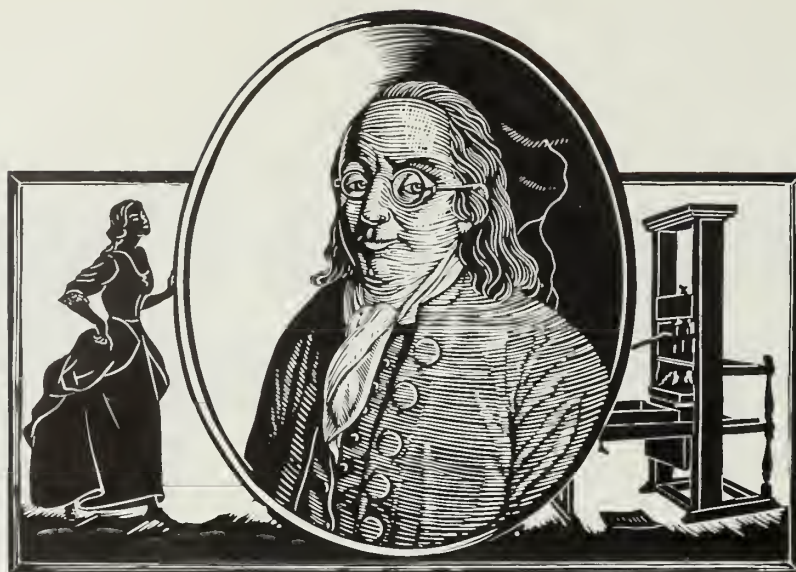
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I am BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN

Of all things created upon this earth, I have ever conceived the greatest to be Woman, the creation of God; and the Printing Press, the creation of Man. It is my chiefest regret, indeed, that I did not earlier discover the merits of each. The Printing Press I did not discover until I was twelve; the incomparable blessing of Women somewhat later. Yet I do not deny myself the satisfaction of recalling, in the 70 years or more that remained to me, I made the most of my discoveries, pursuing them until the end.

Albeit I was accounted the first civilized American; and did discover the principle on which the electric motor, the telephone and the telegraph are based; and invented bifocals and the mangle; and fathered the United States Weather Bureau; and invented watertight compartments for ships; and established the first fire insurance company in America; and organized the U. S. Postal System; and founded the first circulating library and the University of Pennsylvania; and originated the science of ventilation; and founded the great Democratic Party, and the first illustrated

American newspaper, and the art of advertising; and was the originator of daylight saving and smokeless chimneys; and discovered the modern theory of electricity and invented the lightning rod; and fathered antislavery, and the first thrift campaign, and the new plan of confederation upon which this nation is based, and the Declaration of Independence; and other matters that fill many books—Yet does it somehow please me much more that I was accounted the youngest Master Printer of my time, and that, for three score years and ten, I was to women the most beloved of men.

P. S.—It will please my modern sponsors, *Mackenzie-Harris Corporation, Typographers and Typefounders of 460 Bryant Street, San Francisco, California*, to know that my grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, established in 1785 a type foundry, of most humble size, however, compared to the magnificent M&H typographical house that exists today.

California Local History

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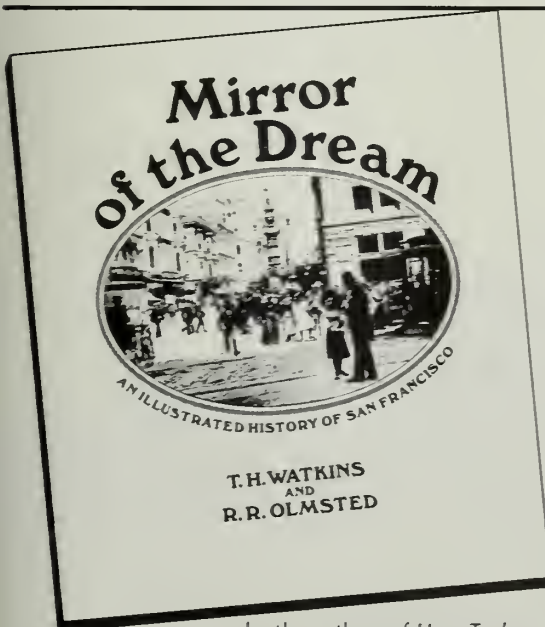
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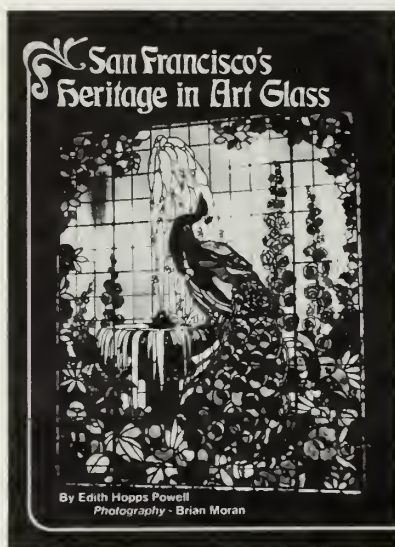
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*the business
correspondence of
Gibbons & Lammot,
gold rush
black powder
merchants*

Great

The business letters of Robert Lammot and his associate Rodmond Gibbons span the years from 1852 to 1854 and describe in rich and sometimes painful detail the fortunes of two businessmen who traveled West intent on securing some of the fast money to be made in the California gold rush. In purpose the two men's letters were reports to an eastern supplier on the status of their goods and finances and appraisals of future prospects. But for latter-day readers they recreate with humor, optimism, and, finally, resignation the anticipations and disappointments that characterized business life in the boom and bust economy of the remote new market.

"Gibbons and Lammot," the name chosen for the men's partnership, was organized as a commission merchant business in San Francisco soon after the sleepy outpost found itself thrust into a new economic role. Suddenly the city had become an important trading center serving a market of hungry, ill-equipped miners eager to buy, at almost any price, the means to strike it rich in the gold fields of the Sierra Nevada.

For those who could supply the needed products, mid-nineteenth century San Francisco offered excellent

Mr. White is employed in the research and reference department of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, a center for advanced studies in mid-Atlantic regional business and economic history at Greenville, Delaware.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to his colleagues at the Library for their advice and encouragement and to Mr. Eugene Ferguson, professor of history at the University of Delaware.

Expectations

opportunities for profits in the commission mercantile business. However, the profits were in reality accessible only to those few who had reliable East Coast suppliers and good luck with unpredictable shipping companies. Also important to business survival was the ability to weather frequent financial panics, cut-throat competition, and unscrupulous city officials, all of which characterized San Francisco business life during the gold-rush years.

The Gibbons and Lammot agency began business in February, 1852, at No. 4 Battery Street. While neither of the men kept diaries, it seems evident from Robert Lammot's early letters that the partnership was made up of a promising combination of talents.

Rodmond Gibbons, the elder partner, was a seasoned businessman who had been employed with the Philadelphia commission agency of Thomas & Martin before moving to the West Coast sometime in 1850 or 1851. After his relocation, Gibbons made a name for himself in San Francisco business and real estate and, later, as a pamphleteer on California financial affairs.

Robert Lammot, on the other hand, possessed little business background when he came to California in 1850. He compensated for his professional inexperience, however, with potentially valuable East Coast connections.

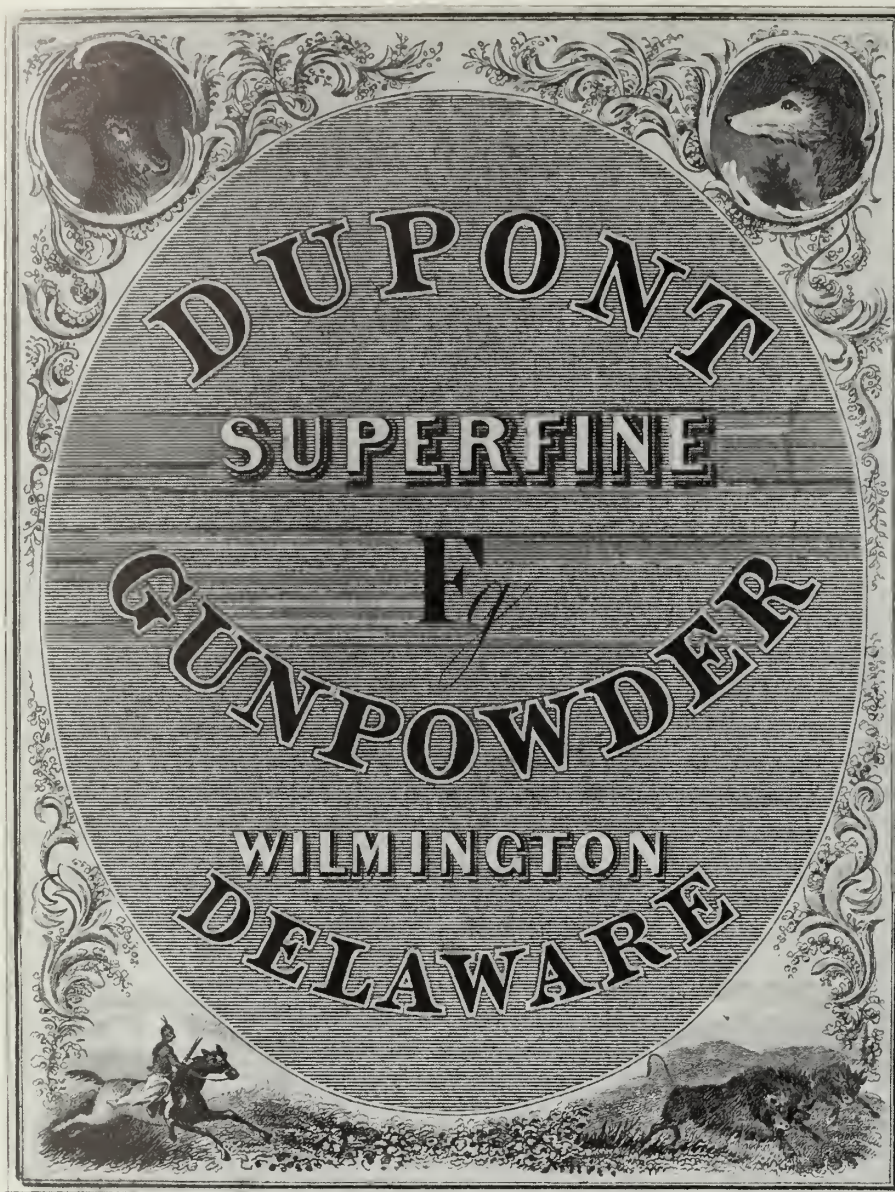
It was upon Robert's step-sister Margaretta and her marriage to Alfred Victor Du Pont, president of the well-known Du Pont Powder Mills of Wilmington, Delaware, that the fledgling San Francisco business

pinned much of its hope for success. Robert had become a close friend with Alfred Du Pont following Margaretta's marriage, and when the suggestion of a trip to San Francisco came about, Alfred offered supportive, fatherly advice and guarded promises of assistance.

Alfred encouraged Robert's journey out of good business sense as well as friendship. During the mid-nineteenth century, the Du Pont Company was gradually recovering from a nation-wide economic slump, which for Du Pont extended through the duration of the 1846 Mexican War.

The war itself proved to be unprofitable for the company in spite of what would seem to be an advantageous event for a gunpowder manufacturer. Federal orders for powder were ultimately too small to balance the costs of mobilizing production, and, in addition, the urgency of Army powder orders forced the company to take dangerous chances in order to meet production deadlines. The period ended catastrophically for Du Pont when a careless, hastily trained employee touched off an explosion which left eighteen dead.

It was in the aftermath of these disappointments that the news of a gold rush in California reached Delaware, and, as everywhere, the news was well received at the powder mills along the Brandywine. For Du Pont, the potential market for powder in quartz-mining operations in the West appeared to herald a new opportunity for growth and expansion. Under the leadership of Henry Du Pont, who took control of the company at his brother Alfred's retirement in 1850, vigorous sales and



Du Pont Company's Superfine Fg Gunpowder label, a familiar item to West Coast users in the late 1850's

promotional operations were begun by representatives throughout the country, and California was not to be neglected.

As the company began to look in earnest toward western markets, Alfred saw Robert's trip as timely indeed. A reliable reporter in the San Francisco business community would be an asset in gaining knowledge of the town and its politics and in identifying trustworthy businessmen who could ably represent the company and its products.

Robert's performance as a neutral correspondent for the company was, however, short-lived. Realizing that he sat on one of Du Pont's most promising areas of sales development, Robert, and his new business partner, Gibbons, soon began to write letters of a different tone to Delaware. Objective assessments and answers to Du Pont queries gave way to almost strident pleas to Du Pont to consider their own fledgling firm as a candidate for the Du Pont commission. The two men unhesitatingly began discrediting competing applicants

and shored up their own rather limited credentials with promises of hard work, honest bookkeeping, and faithful shepherding of Du Pont interests. Their objective, as emerges in their correspondence, was to get into what appeared to be the beginning of a bonanza in the black powder business unmatched anywhere west of the Mississippi.

The persistence of the partners' pleas and the boldness of their arguments must have impressed Henry Du Pont, for the two men successfully secured the company account. Their celebrations, however, lasted only briefly, for no sooner had the firm established itself than it began long months of grappling with city officials for a permit to build a powder magazine, with shipping companies which gave unpredictable service and damaged freight, and with poor customer sales and collections.

After a beginning of high hopes and enthusiasm and two years tempered with disappointments, the Gibbons and Lammot partnership was dissolved in 1856. Gibbons remained in San Francisco where he relocated to 65 California Street. There he managed to salvage a business out of the Du Pont account and real estate interests. Lammot despaired of commission merchandising and returned to the East. After a brief stay on his half-brother's farm ("where I shall try for a year if the occupation of a farmer cannot be made to pay better than the commission business—worse it cannot"), he joined the Army, fought in the Civil War with the rank of captain, and followed a military career thereafter in the Western Territories until his death at Fort Supply, Indian Territory, in 1888.

From a reading of the letters written to the Du Pont firm during the partnership, it is apparent that both men enjoyed chronicling the peaks and even the all too frequent troughs of the firm's endeavors. In many instances the formal purpose of the correspondence, which was to give an accounting of Du Pont powder sales, seems almost incidental to the lengthy narrations

on all sorts of subjects. As a result, Gibbons and Lammot's sober assessments of San Francisco business life, recounted with a delightful deadpan style, reveal a unique perspective of the city in the 1850's—San Francisco through the eyes of the marginally successful businessman.

The edited letters in this article represent a mere handful from the complete correspondence of Gibbons and Lammot with E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc. (Gibbons remained a powder commission merchant for Du Pont and wrote frequently, even feverishly, until 1873.) The entire correspondence is deposited with the Du Pont collection at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.

*Alfred Du Pont to Robert Lammot
Wilmington, Delaware—July [June] 20, 1849*

Margaretta parted for Boston this morning—and I was so busy I could not pump out of her anything about your taking a trip to San Francisco.

I am much obliged by your returning the *Alta California* of the 15th March, it being wanted here to refer to at further dates, viz, to compare from time to time the changes that will take place in the leading firms of that Golden Country.

Should you conclude to take a trip, it should be done with the consent of your parents; I hope you would not undertake such a journey contrary to their wishes—If you go it will give me much pleasure to give you all the assistance I can.

A person writing well and able to keep books will always make a living there, but my favorite employment if I had to go there would be that of a Shoe Black—viz, that of doing any thing and every thing my employer require that was not dishonest; in a new country a man must be ready to jump at every thing that could be done with honour.

*Robert Lamnot to Alfred Du Pont
Pennsgrove, Pennsylvania—June 28, 1849*

... Sister Margaretta urged me strongly to follow the example of those who have gone to California and made fortunes in so short a space of time. I told her that I wished to do so but that I had not the means of going—She then offered to pay my passage there provided Father's consent could be obtained, which I have done—Indeed you may be assured Sir, I would never take so important a step without first obtaining the advice and consent of my parents.

It is my wish now to get from some of the Phila[delphia] merchants consignments of flour, provisions or any thing else they may be disposed to send to San Francisco—in order to give me a start in business when I arrive there—I have seen Mr. Hooper¹ about it and he is to give me an answer in a few days and I intend seeing some others in Phila. to see if I cannot induce them to risk a shipment by me; if I cannot get any consignments I will be ready to take advantage of any offer of employment that may be made to me from "Shoe-blackening" to keeping books—provided I can make something more than my expenses at it. Should I take any goods out with me I suppose the best route would be round the Horn; but if I go light, by Chagres.²

As for the clothing etc. necessary for that country I must confess myself profoundly ignorant of what kind would be necessary, but that I can find out from some of those who have returned from there.

Allow me Sir to express to you my gratitude for the kindness you have shown me, both at this time and heretofore in giving me advice and letters as well as your offers of assistance. . . .

*Robert Lamnot to E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co.³
San Francisco, April 11, 1850*

Your favor of Feb. 24th was received today, and in answer to your enquiries respecting the persons you

mention I would say that as regards Mr. Truitt,⁴ he is doing apparently a large business in the grocery line in this city under the firm of H.B. & M.B. [F.] Truitt and if I had any power to make collections for you, I think I would be able to get from him anything he may owe you—Still it would be hard to say who will be good & who insolvent here, in the course of three months—If you wish me to try and collect anything from him, I will do so with pleasure as soon as you send a power of attorney and copy of account, both certified before a commissioner for California or justice of the peace.

Of Mr. McLean⁵ I can give you but little information. He has given up the care of the [powder] Magazine and has been appointed (I am told) Quartermaster of the State, which is all that I have been able to learn about him.

As to Messrs Winston and Simmons⁶ I can say less—indeed I believe the partnership has been dissolved; the Senior partner (Mr. W.) having gone home. Mr. Simmons was Comptroller of this City, and gave considerable dissatisfaction, whether deserved or not I cannot say—Still he does not appear to me to be a man of much business talent though I *do* know (from experience) that he fully understands how to make up a long bill of charges. I do not think him to be the proper person to act as your agent here, though it would be difficult to recommend any one to replace him. In one of my letters home I mentioned that Mr. James Stevenson⁷ had told me that he had written you asking for a consignment—Mr. Stevenson is a very good man, honest and a good merchant, but he is considerably embarrassed in his money matters and I am afraid will not be able to remit to his consigners as he should; moreover, he is not altogether as prudent as a man should be here and has trusted too much.

For the past year there has been very little demand for powder in proportion to the supply. Whole shiploads were sent from Boston & other Atlantic ports which were forced off at auction, bringing from 10 to 20¢ pr. lb. Just now the quartz mining operations are

*It would be hard to say who will be good
& who insolvent here in the course
of three months.*

consuming considerable quantities of blasting powder which is scarce at 75¢. The City ordinance prohibits anyone keeping any quantity within the limits of the town, and the charges for storage at the [City Powder] Magazine⁸ are enormous; should you conclude to establish a regular agency here, it would be advisable to purchase a small piece of ground and put up a fire proof building of your own which could be done now almost as cheap as at home. Near the Presidio where the U. S. troops are stationed, there are several situations every-way suitable for the purpose.

The stock of powder in Market now is rather low—the abundance of game which is to be found everywhere aids considerably in its consumption. I can safely say that it is the greatest game market in the world. Deer, elk, antelope, bear, rabbits, hare, as well as geese, brant, ducks, curlew, snipe, grouse and partridges are in the greatest profusion and the man who can't eat them every day, must be "flat broke" indeed.

The mining operations will consume large quantities of blasting powder during the coming year, and I think that the Eastern shipments will be made in future with more caution.

Any information I can give you at any time, I will be happy to impart, and if you can make use of my services in any way, I hope you will do so.

... Give my best regards to all my Brandywine friends, though if questioned about my *pile* you can describe it as being of rather a concave one, better known by the algrebraic term — as yet.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, February 27, 1852*

A permit has been granted to E. H. Parker, agent for the Hazard Co.⁹ to erect a Magazine in the outskirts of this City and he has accordingly put one up. I called on Messrs Beck & Palmer¹⁰ to consult with them about obtaining a permit for you, but they were disinclined to do anything in the matter, as they said that powder was dull and they did not wish to advance the necessary funds to put up the magazine (say from \$200 to \$400 according to the size of the building and lot). As I was a member of the Council at the time I could have had an ordinance passed allowing you the permission but now owing to Loco Foco¹¹ cunning and the judicious administration of \$3,000. to two of the Judges of the Supreme Court here, the entire Whig City officers were ousted and a set of Locos put in their places. So just now it would be impossible to get anything through. A bill has been introduced by an influential Democrat in the Legislature to change the time of election. So there is every probability that by the end of April or May the Whigs will be re-installed & I can get anything I want in the way of permits.

Of course I cannot say what amount of Powder Messrs B[eck] & P[almer] sell, but if they do not double the sales of the other [concessions] I should say it was their own fault, for your brand is universally approved.

I saw a few days ago a label struck off for some concern here in imitation of your FFFg¹² & intend to ferret out all the particulars which I will communicate as soon as ascertained. . . .

There are some twelve thousand kegs of powder in market just now, principally sporting, & as the hunting season is approaching its close, the sales are somewhat limited. Blasting powder is improving and as the snow disappears from the mountains a great deal will be consumed in quartz mining which is expected to be carried on to a great extent this year. I think it would be a great saving of expense to you to have your own magazine,

Copy

Caution

As certain parties in this City are repacking inferior Gun powder in round canisters with cork stoppers and counterfeit labels bearing our names, the public are hereby cautioned against the fraud.

All of our canisters have leather necks and stoppers with tape ties — the stoppers stamped with an Eagle on the "Eagle Powder" and "E. I. du Pont & Co." on the "Fg." "Hq." "Hqg." canister Powder —

Any other made put up, cannot be relied on as genuine —

E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.
for Gibbons & Lammot.

San Francisco May 1st 1852

The above may differ in one or two words but not in meaning;

In 1852 Gibbons & Lammot ran this newspaper notice to warn against purchase of inferior gunpowder sold under counterfeit DuPont Company label.

on account of the high rates of storage in that belonging to the City, as well as the difficulty of access, and then parties storing there are never sure of having their own powder returned to them as I have known in a dozen instances, that merchants had to take other than that they deposited.

... I have lately formed a business connection with Mr. Rodmond Gibbons for the transaction of a general commission and merchandise brokerage business—with a reasonable prospect of success. Mr. Gibbons is extensively and favorably known in this City as well as in Sacramento & Stockton and we hope to be able to drive a brisk trade with both of those places.

Should you be able to give us some consignments of your powder, we are confident that we could give you satisfaction as to the amount sold and prices obtained,

for we do not intend to let any other concern out work us.

In case you send us a lot, I would recommend that no labels but the old fashioned ones be used, for the hunters are familiar with it & do not like any innovations—I would also like to have some of your sample cards to hang up in the principal hotels of the towns. I have frequently seen Hazard's but never any of yours.

Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, April 30, 1852

You will not feel flattered perhaps, that my first letter to you is one for selfish ends, but as you did not expect much of me you will not be greatly disappointed.

You are doubtless aware that Rob. Lammot & myself have engaged in the Commission business, and you will

not be surprised to learn that we are desirous of getting the Agency for the sale of your Powder in this market. . . .

If you deem it to your interest to have a properly conducted agency in San Francisco, I can say with confidence that our intimate intercourse with the trade would enable us to sell as much of your powder as could be sold by any other house in this city, and at the best prices obtainable.

In such case as I have suggested, it would be advisable to build a Magazine, both as a means of safety and for economy in storage.

It would also be well for us to possess a power of Att'y through which we could prosecute parties counterfeiting your labels & as this business is being carried on to the detriment of your reputation.

For the furtherance of your interest, we will undertake to have more stringent laws passed touching counterfeit labels—that is, if you desire it.

I believe that Robt. has written to your firm, with reference to all that I have mentioned, and in regard to the quality of packages of powder most in demand here. . . .

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
Wilmington, Delaware, July 3, 1852*

Not finding the advertisement referred to yesterday in my conversation with your Mr. Henry Du Pont, I enclose you a written copy of the same. It was inserted by Mr. Lammot in two of the San Francisco daily papers, in pursuance to the suggestions made in one of your letters to him, and with very salutary effect.

. . . I must confess my surprise at the announcement, that you were in treaty with another house for your business Agency in California—but as the negotiation is still *pending*, I beg to renew the application of my house for the business, and will frankly state to you how any other arrangement would affect us.

For some time past Mr. Lammot has been exerting

himself to protect your interests in California, by exposing the fraud of the counterfeit labels so far as practicable by personal interviews with our merchants, and was obliged to give as a *reason*, that he was related to members of your firm. Since our association in business and the receipt of your letters containing orders upon your former Agents for the "Balance of Stock on hand"—advances of shipments, and the suggestions already alluded to, he has been firmly impressed with the idea, that you meant to transfer your "Agency" to us, and that your letters implied this. Hence the advertisement appeared and he felt no hesitation in stating that we would receive your future shipments.

Thus, you perceive that he has not only been identified in a measure with your business in California, but by the misapprehension of your letters, our house has been placed in the same position before the public which is inexpressably mortifying to me.

As a young house your Agency would be very valuable to us, and would assist us in getting other business, while to lose it at this juncture would be deeply injurious to our prospects—Both our pride and interest would induce us to devote more undivided attention to your business than you would be likely to secure among strangers, while our terms would be as moderate as those of any other house.

We can give you every satisfaction relative to the standing and probable stability of our firm, and trust that you will feel no delicacy in making every enquiry.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, October 30, 1852*

. . . Our Mr. Gibbons returned on the 20th¹³—the powder had been previously stored in the State Magazine at the following rates—12½¢ per Keg or ½¢ per lb. per month storage with the same each way for cartage, being only one half the charge allowed by law.

We have consulted together with regard to the

magazine and have concluded to postpone building it for the present for the following reasons.

The question as to the City's title to the lot we had selected as the most eligible is now before the Supreme Court, and there is very little doubt that her right will be fully confirmed. . . .

It is situated on the Southern boundary of the City . . . and is the only one that is near enough the level of the water to be built on without a great deal of grading, as the bank from Mission Point to Rincon Point rises abruptly (with this exception) from the beach to the height of almost thirty feet. It possesses the advantage of an easy access by either land or water and is remote from other buildings.

Bricks, lime and other building materials have risen nearly, if not quite 100%, rendering it impossible to build at anything like the cost mentioned in our first estimate. Builders assure us that they can put up the magazine in three weeks and advise us defer building at least a month when it is probable materials will have fallen considerably.

The present City Council will vacate their seats in the course of a week and as the writer is personally acquainted with nearly every member of the new Board we can probably obtain a much more favorable permit than the present one would grant.

With regard to stone foundations, they would cost more than brick and possess no advantage as we have no frosts that could affect the walls.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, December 31, 1852*

Since our last, we have had a succession of heavy rains, causing a general langour in business, but there is every promise of a heavy trade as soon as the weather becomes settled. We look for the arrival of the *Java* in a few weeks and shall hope to render you a satisfactory account of your invoice pr. this vessel.

The recent invasion of Lower California and Sonora will no doubt help our sales of powder, and on that account we do not wish our Fillibusters too easy a conquest, nor yet a too early defeat.

By next mail we will write you something definite of the Magazine. Building materials are still high, but we cannot wait much longer, as we must have the building ready for the *A. M. L[awrence's]* invoice. It will cost you more than it would have done nine months ago, but you must console yourselves with the reflection, that it is but an eddy in the stream of "California luck."

. . . The storms have played roughly with our little coasting crafts, and potatoes have become temporarily scarce. They have advanced nearly one hundred pr. ct. within a fortnight. A friend of ours has 1000 sacks stored at an embarcadero at the head of the Bay, and our Mr. L[ammot] has gone to inform him of the rise and bring the potatoes down to market. The 1000 bags can be sold on the vessel @ say \$8,000—so the storm will have put nearly \$4,000 in our friend's pocket. "An ill wind & etc."

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, January 31, 1853*

. . . The stock of powder in market at present is large though almost entirely of very inferior description and on that account as well as from the impassibility of the roads, there has been but a fraction of the quantity sold that should have been by this time; the roads however are drying and game is becoming more abundant, so we think there will be a brisk demand ere long. Blasting powder will come in play as soon as the Quartz leads can be worked but must remain dull till then.

We have had much more difficulty than we anticipated

both as to getting permission to build and procuring a suitable location. Ever since last July all kinds of real estate has risen in value. The lot we wrote you about might have been had for about \$1500 and is now held at \$4500, and thus far we have not been able to find another place combining the advantages of accessibility by both land and water.

In case we cannot find a good place and build to advantage, we have concluded to purchase a storeship, which we can use till we *can* build—as there will be but little doubt but we can re-sell the ship without the loss that would be sustained by selecting a place in a hurry and putting up the magazine while materials are so high.

We have some idea of building on Mission Rock if it can be had low, as it is far enough from land to prevent any danger to or from the neighborhood and is always easy of access by boats. . . .

Our winter rains have ceased and we are now enjoying the finest weather imaginable, with hopes of its continuance.

*Gibbons & Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, February 28, 1853*

. . . Since our last we have had considerable trouble with regard to the permit to build a magazine, and indeed the Board of Aldermen refused the permit, but it was because two of our friends were absent. This evening the Board has another meeting and if those two gentlemen have returned the vote will be reconsidered, & we have the promise of six out of the eight to support it.

In the meantime, however, not to be taken back (in case of the arrival of the *Lawrence*) we have bought a good tight storeship capable of storing 400 tons for \$1500 . . . and could sell her again tomorrow for \$2000 if we wished. So you may be under no apprehensions on account of want of place to store your powder.

. . . In the meantime you may depend on our using our best efforts for the promotion of your interests.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, March 15, 1853*

Last night the Board of Aldermen passed the ordinance giving us the permission to build a magazine and next Monday we will have it brought before the assistant Alderman for concurrence. We have met with a good deal of opposition in this matter from parties interested and have had our ordinance rejected once, but by dint of dinning the matter into the ears of our City Fathers every meeting, we have at last pushed it through the upper Board.

The *A. M. Lawrence* arrived here on the 9th with your powder which we put on the storeship and moored her out in the Bay, out of all danger. We have a trustworthy man on board to take care of matters, & who comes to the store every day for orders.

The writer saw Mr. Lean a few days ago; he is utterly worthless and should we ever get anything out of him you may consider it a great stroke of fortune.

Hoping to send you a large a[ccount] sales soon.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, October 15, 1853*

. . . We will do as you direct concerning the lumpy powder,¹⁴ but as the lumps will not yield to shaking, much of it will have to be opened. We have thought it might be an advantage to have a copper cylinder of medium capacity fixed in a light frame, so that it could be turned by hand. With the help of balls within the cylinder it occurred to us that such a contrivance would be very useful in doctoring lumpy powder. If your views coincide with ours, please ship us one—or if anything will answer the purpose better in your opinion, we would be glad to have it—for labor is a considerable item in this country.

. . . With respect to the magazine, we will look up a lot as soon as our Mr. L[ammot] returns.¹⁵ The trouble is, to get an “undoubted title,” in a desirable location.

[The powder magazine] will cost you more than it would have nine months ago, but you must console yourselves with the reflection that it is but an eddy in the stream of "California luck."

We fear we shall be obliged to trust to such a title as we can get, and in such an event, if you do not relish the uncertainty we will shoulder it ourselves, and trust to the nine points of the law.

It would be well for you to ship us a "powder waggon" in anticipation. Say after the style of Adam's & Co's express waggons, as far as the *running gear* and *springs* are concerned. The top according to your own judgement and taste. So as it be *not* heavy, have doors aft that can be locked, and *not* bear enough resemblance to a magazine to make persons feel uncomfortable as it passes.

It will not be needed to carry heavy loads, but to go *fast* with one horse or rather, vice versa. Harness for one horse will also be needed.

It does not seem likely that there will be any ordinance to prohibit the transportation of powder thro' the streets, for some years to come: and these things will cost much less in Phil. or N.Y. than here.

*Robert Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, December 13, 1853*

We are in rect. of none of your favors unanswered, and have but to announce the arrival of the Ship *Carisca* with your shipment by her, in good order with the exception of a few Kegs damaged by the ship which she has paid for and a few cases stained by *sweat* according to the Port Warden, but which we hope to convince the Agt. of the Underwriters is *salt water* so that we may get an allow-

ance for the damage which is merely confined to the cases as far as we have examined and has not hurt the powder.

The canisters that are packed in straw generally arrive in better order and *less stained* than when packed with paper and we notice that the hoops on most of the last shipment of kegs are loose which we attribute to some greenness in either kegs or hoops.

... The recent invasion of Lower California and Sonora will no doubt help our sales of powder and on that account we do not wish our Fillibusters too easy a conquest, nor yet a too early defeat. As yet they have but few cannon, which defect we hope they will soon remedy—as to bayonets, they do not use them at all, so they must depend on powder for their success.¹⁶

Real Estate has taken a sudden start within the last few months, and many lots that were out of town have lately been covered with buildings. So that had we put up the magazine in the neighborhood where we designed we should have had a good many efforts made to remove us. For the present it is decidedly better to keep the storeship, but as soon as we can advantageously build we will do so.

Business generally is very dull and prices of all kinds of merchandise rule exceedingly low—we are in hopes, however, that next month will improve matters and if there should be a good hearty war in Europe, it will improve our prices here materially.

*Gibbons & Lammot to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, January 16, 1854*

... On the 25th Nov. a collision occurred during a blow in our harbor, between our storeship and an English brig (*Rosaline*) in which the *Dryade* rec'd. some damage. We called a survey and recovered \$701.50 from the brig which you will perceive rather more than covers the amount paid for repairs. Our powder boat was also stolen from the wharf while the ship keeper was delivering some powder, and as she could not be recovered, we

Fenced by the masts of abandoned ships, the San Francisco waterfront boomed in 1851 with the energy of hopeful entrepreneurs like Gibbons & Lammot

were forced to buy another new one, which could be sold at any moment for \$50 advance on what we paid for her.

Our efforts to obtain a lot for the magazine have thus far been in vain as the City's title has not yet been acted on by the Land Commission and all the lots suitable for our purpose are more or less held by uncertain titles—and are also, by reason of great speculative demand, held high above their real value. We are, however, on the look out and shall do all we can to get one to suit your purpose at the earliest moment possible.

... The writer saw Mr. W[illiam?] F. McLean lately, he *promises* to pay as soon as he sells some potatoes, which he has been raising, but as potatoes are only bringing from 50 to 75c pr bushel, we think the chance of making anything out of him but small.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, September 15, 1854*

... As regards the comparative merits of magazine and ship we still hold to the former, as the ship is obliged

to be moored some two miles from town, where, in winter the wind blows very heavily and renders it impossible to load the boat without wetting the powder, indeed sometimes it is so rough on the bay that it is dangerous to be in a boat—Last winter in going off one day the boat was upset & the ship-keeper was floating about the bay on the keel of the boat for several hours before he could be rescued.

The value of Mr. Heyl's¹⁷ opinion in matters relating to your business should be qualified by several grains of allowance. He would be very sorry to see *us* build a magazine—indeed he was the strongest opponent we had in obtaining the permit from the City, by means of an intimate friend in the Council. Could he find the friends to build one himself, and business enough to support it, he would be very clear of acting up to his advice.

He does not by any means possess the confidence of our merchants as he has been in the habit of purchasing worthless powder for a trifle and mixing it with good powder that was stored with him, filling his own kegs with other people's powder: his own man admitted this



to our ship keeper. Could we moor our vessel where it suited us, we would prefer her to a land magazine, but as things are, it is too much risk. The *Dryade* suffered severely last winter and caused us many a night and day of anxiety, for fear of hearing of damage or total loss. Our "Land Commissioners" have been keeping us a long while in suspense as to the "City Title" but having waited so long, it is better to be patient as the case is submitted and held under advisement, so that their decision is daily expected, than to buy a doubtful lot. . . .

*Robert Lamont to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, December 31, 1854*

In the course of a short time Mr. Gibbons & myself shall, for the present, dissolve our business connection. He will continue in charge of your business under the name of our old firm G&L altho' he will be associated with another firm, Stedman & Eldridge, a young auction and commission house who has already won for itself an enviable standing both for integrity and business ability.¹⁵ He goes in as an equal partner, and I think has formed an eligible connection for one year.

During the past two years our business has been getting worse and worse. To save our Eastern consignors from loss, we have held on to their goods at a continued expense to ourselves, in the vain hope of improvement in our market while a greater damage has resulted both to them and ourselves. In consequence of such losses, our consignors have totally ceased shipping excepting yourselves; indeed, in the face of present and future prospects we have advised them to this course—tho' by so doing we leave ourselves in the lurch. In regard to your business, we flatter ourselves that it has advanced to a very respectable position, and I hope to your entire satisfaction: at any rate, if such is not the case, it has not been owing to any want of exertion and attention on our part. But your business alone, tho' steadily increasing, will scarcely support itself, let alone two of us—almost

*I intend leaving San Francisco soon
to join my brother on his farm where
I shall try for a year if the occupation
of a farmer cannot be made to pay better
than a commission business
—worse it cannot.*

without exception, our sales of powder have been in lots of from one to five packages—requiring the constant presence and attention of some one in the office, making out orders on the magazine and making out the bills, while a large portion of our time is consumed in shipping these small lots and collecting the bills. Now we do not wish you to understand that we complain of the amount of work done—but we do most respectfully represent that 5% commission does not pay us anything at all for our labor.

We have to give a book-keeper (whose time is almost exclusively devoted to your account) \$150 per month or \$1800 a year—while all the commissions on your business for the last year has been but about \$1500. To give you an idea of the way we sell powder—from the 14th Oct. to the present time, we have drawn 345 orders on the magazine. Had we had an adequate supply of the various kinds, especially of Blasting, we could often have made sales of large lots, which we had to decline, and to dole out the little we had in dribs, in order to keep our customers. In fact, it has been and must necessarily be, a jobbing business, and we think that could you be fully aware of all the facts, you would not hesitate in advancing the rate of commissions to 10%. The usual jobbing rate—and I can truly say that I believe that *no* other house in San Francisco could or would have worked harder for it, or for your interest than we have.

I intend leaving San Francisco soon to join my brother on his farm where I shall try for a year if the occupation

of a farmer cannot be made to pay better than the commission business—worse it cannot. In the meantime Mr. G. will conduct your business with his usual ability, and I trust you will advance your own interests by keeping a good large stock here, principally Blasting, FFFg & FFg in kegs and FFg & FFFg in halves & quarters, so that our customers will never have to be stinted in the quantity they want. I do not think that the prices will be reduced—at least materially so—this coming year, as outside shippers are becoming tired of the article.

*Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, December 31, 1854*

From Mr. Lammot's letter to you under this date, you will learn of his intention to withdraw for the present from Mercantile pursuits, and of my prospect of forming a new commission.

It is a source of mutual regret that circumstances make it to his interests to take such a step, but, as we cannot control our own destinies entirely, we must submit to the current that we cannot stem.

With respect to the connection that I have made, it may be gratifying for you to learn, that it is one of the highest respectability, and the business both safe & lucrative.

In consulting our own feelings and your interests, the powder business will be carried on as heretofore in the name of G & L—and under my sole control—The *profits* of said business are to be shared with Messrs Stedman & Eldridge for the term of our copartnership—one year.

In view of the style of our present firm remaining as it is, we have thought it most proper that there should be no change in the style of the other firm.

An office will be taken in Stedman & E's building, and the sign of G & L removed thereto—So that the business of G & L shall remain to all appearances, distinct from any other.

The past two years have proved so disastrous to

shippers generally, that Robert & myself concluded that we would not *urge* our claims for business upon any, (your good selves excepted) and thus subject ourselves to reproach—for the position of Commission agts. is so painfully unpleasant in a bad season that we desire to avoid this crowning evil. And as I possess some real estate that promises to become valuable in the course of a few years it would have been more agreeable to me to confine my mercantile transactions to your business and such others as might come without solicitation. But as the commissions on your account are insufficient to enable even *one* of us to carry it on independently of other business, I am compelled to connect myself with another concern.

\$150. pr mo. as clerk's salary in this city is only equivalent to \$500 pr year in Phila—all things considered, and the character of the powder business here is necessarily such as to require a clerk.

Now deduct a clerk's salary from the commission on powder sales, and something less than nothing is left—Office rent, wear and tear of mental machinery & shoe-leather, are perquisites over the wrong shoulder. In this posture of affairs, Messrs S. & E.'s share of the profits of your business will be otherwise than flattering—But after these representations, we make bold to suggest, that some proposition on your part with a view of changing the complexion of the matter, would be very gracefully received.

The fact is, that Gibbons & Lammot have lost money on your California business, tho' they have no idea of complaining—For when the writer was last in Delaware, it was a matter of pride for us to get your account, and to *show* you what we thought you were a little skeptical about—i.e. that we could do your business to your satisfaction.

My new partnership is for the period of one year, as before stated, and at the expiration of that time if things are favorable Lammot & myself will renew the relationship which we regret to sunder.

Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, June 29, 1855

... The Hazard Co's Agt. is compelled to remove his magazine and was yesterday viewing a site in proximity to ours.¹⁹

We have presented an ordinance, or a draught of one, to the Board of Co. Supervisors as follows—"No Magazine or Building for the storing of Gun powder, shall be constructed or used in the County of San Francisco, within the distance of one half mile from any other Building or Magazine which may be already in use for the same purpose."

They have promised to pass the same tomorrow—We may say in connexion with this that we have presented the "celebration committee" with four kegs of "Cannon Powder" for 4th of July purposes. They stipulated however at our request, to give us no vote of thanks—

We did not wish the ordinance & the thanks to appear at the same time.

Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, July 10, 1855

... We note your remarks concerning the Shot Shipments and have no desire to urge the matter if it be contrary to your views. In the course of another year we hope to be in a position to import shot on our own account in case you don't feel prepared to do so—for independent of its being a help to the Powder Business it can be made profitable of its self.

... As noted in our last, the ordinance prohibiting Powder Magazines in proximity to each other was passed by the board of Co. Supervisors.

... Our former Porter & present Magazine keeper have had a hard time lately with a horse of ours.

The writer has had for some months past one of a pair of ponies that he owns draughted into the powder service—(the work being hard for one horse). Meantime he was driving rather a spirited animal instead of the

pony. His wife finally rebelled at the absence of the pony, as she was not permitted to drive the other team. This being the case, I brot the spirited horse over & took the pony home. I warned Mr. Fulton not to put said horse in single harness, and when riding him to be watchful in using the curb rein. My advice was disregarded & the horse ran away with a light wagon belonging to a friend of Fulton. Our old Porter (who was driving) and a man named Bill were left on the road side—the former badly bruised & the latter with a broken arm. Three kegs of Powder were also victims of the occasion.

A few days after this, the same animal threw Fulton over head & gave him a kick in the forehead & left him two hours senseless. Nothing saved the mans life but the absence of a shoe on the horses foot.

We have concluded that this horse won't suit the powder business—at all events Mr. Fulton thinks so.

Rodmond Gibbons to Du Pont & Co.
San Francisco, October 19, 1855

... The new wagon is not exactly what we could have wished²⁰—the wheels are low and clumsily heavy while the springs are so weak that 20 kegs *keeps* them together—we intend having extra plates put in—the wheels are set wrong in some way, for the axles are heated by driving in or out from the Magazine to an extent that rather alarms our driver—though he cleans and greases them every morning.

The prospect is good for a brisk demand for all kinds of Powder during the coming winter and spring, altho' some enterprising genius has commenced putting up works in Sacramento for manufacturing Rifle Powder and expects to do a flourishing business at it, to the exclusion of the importers.

The powder label and business notice are from the Gibbons & Lamnot papers in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Delaware.

Notes

1. A. M. M. M'Elroy, *Philadelphia Directory for the Year 1849*.
2. Lammot, like other eager entrepreneurs, would take on a load for travel at Chagres on the Isthmus of Panama.
3. Hereafter Du Pont & Co. Both Lammot and Gibbons had a distinctive hand. When the author is unclear the firm's title is used.
4. Truitt and Truitt, grocers, corner of Front and Sacramento streets, San Francisco. A. W. Morgan & Co., *San Francisco City Directory*, 1852.
5. Mr. McLean appears often in the letters under various spellings and always under disappointing circumstances. Charles P. Kimball's *San Francisco City Directory*, 1850, notes a Hector H. McLean as "Inspector of the Storekeeper's Office in the Custom House Basement." Lammot, however, in a letter to the Du Pont Company not included in this collection, describes McLean more sardonically: "He has been removed from his office of Magazine Keeper for misconduct, and is generally considered a complete scoundrel. . . ." Gibbons & Lammot to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., July 21, 1851, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware.
6. Commission merchants at Montgomery and California streets, San Francisco. Charles Kimball, *San Francisco City Directory*, 1850.
7. Commission merchant at 65 Jackson Street. James M. Parker, *The San Francisco Directory*, 1852-53.
8. The City Powder Magazine was located at 46 Battery Street. Le Coont & Strong, *San Francisco City Directory*, 1854.
9. The Hazard Powder Co. of Hazardville, Connecticut, was one of the three great American black powder companies of the nineteenth century. The other two were Du Pont and Laflin and Rand. Arthur P. Van Gelder and Hugo Schlatter, *History of the Explosives Industry in America* (New York, 1927), p. 256.
10. Gustav Beck and Henry Palmer were the commission merchants at Washington and Stockton streets who handled Du Pont's powder business in San Francisco from May, 1850 to May, 1852, when the firm was dissolved.
11. Loco Foco was the derisive name given to a nineteenth-century radical faction of the Democratic Party (originally called the "Equal Rights" party) which opposed alleged favoritism by the Jackson administration in granting bank charters to corporations. At a meeting in Tammany Hall on October 29, 1853, the Equal Rights Party wrested control of the New York City caucus. When their opponents turned off the gas lights in retaliation they produced candles which they lit with "Loco Foco" matches and continued the meeting. See F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842).
12. FFFg is a powder-label symbol designating the degree of fineness of rifle powder. The system progresses from F, a large grain, to FFFF, a very fine or small grain powder. The subscript g indicates glazed powder, and a subscript r meant rough or unglazed powder. Norman B. Wilkinson, "Glossary of Powder-making Terms" (unpublished research aid, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Delaware).
13. During their business association Gibbons and Lammot each traveled to the East Coast, Gibbons in 1852 to meet with Henry du Pont and urge for receipt of the Du Pont commission, and Lammot in 1853 to visit family and friends in Delaware and Pennsylvania.
14. Keeping gunpowder dry to avoid lumping was crucial to its use and performance. Nineteenth-century wooden-hulled ships could rarely be depended upon to keep cargoes completely dry during the four-month passage around Cape Horn.
15. Lammot was in the East visiting family and friends.
16. Filibuster was the term given to adventurers who took part in unlawful military expeditions into foreign countries in aid of revolution or, more often, for personal aggrandisement. Gibbons' reference probably pertains to William Walker's expedition to Lower California and Sonora. Walker sailed from San Francisco in 1853 with a small force and landed in Lower California, proclaiming it an independent republic with himself as president. Shortly thereafter, he "annexed" the neighboring state of Sonora. The adventure came to an end with United States government interference in Walker's shipments of supplies and troops. See Edward S. Wallace, "The Grey-Eyed Man of Destiny," *American Heritage*, IX (December, 1957): 28.
17. In 1854 Mr. Heyl held the office of superintendent of the City Powder Magazine, at 46 Battery Street. Le Coont & Strong, *San Francisco City Directory for 1854*.
18. Curiously, the Stedman & Eldridge firm does not appear elsewhere in Du Pont Company records, later Gibbons correspondence, or available San Francisco directories spanning the years 1850-60.
19. In October, 1854, Gibbons and Lammot secured a magazine lot with a "squatter and possession" title, culminating three years of political wrangling. ". . . It is 2 3/4 miles [south] in a 'bee line' from 'Portsmouth Square' and about the same distance by water from the foot of Market Street wharf. . . ." In spite of much protest from the Du Pont Company regarding the plot's dubious title, the firm quickly erected a magazine and soon added a house, pier, and fencing funded in part by the sale of the store-ship *Dryade*. Gibbons & Lammot to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., October 31, 1854, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.
20. See Rodmond Gibbons to Dupont & Co., October 15, 1853. The wagon reached San Francisco in early October, 1855, and was a disappointment from the start. Rodmond described the wagon as ". . . a truly great affair, and we opine that either you did not see it previous to shipment, or else the horses about the Brandywine have grown much stronger than they were within our recollections. . . ." Rodmond Gibbons to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., October 4, 1855, Accession 500, Series I, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.



Tour-bus passengers on California's Redwood Highway paused to inspect, enjoy, and measure one of the big trees made accessible by the new and luxurious motor coaches.

California by motor stage

Some 500 photographs documenting a remarkable era of experimentation, innovation, and luxury in California's transportation history were donated to the CHS Library in 1975 by the Estate of Arthur H. Samish. The post-World War I photographs are from the files of the Motor Carrier Association, one of several organizations which the controversial Mr. Samish represented as a lobbyist in Sacramento from 1920 to 1950.

Also given to the Society was one of the most complete existing sets of The Motor Carrier, the Association's monthly informational and promotional periodical published from 1922 to 1952. The photographs reproduced in Mr. Bail's pictorial essay, unless otherwise identified, are from the files of the Motor Carrier Association in the CHS Library.

THE EDITOR

The history of intercity bus transportation, presently a billion-dollar service industry, spans only some sixty-odd years. From the first occasional runs between remote towns, made in individually-assembled chassis-and-body combinations, the industry has grown to serve more than 15,000 communities, a vast majority of which have no other form of public passenger transportation. Today's buses, which are privately owned and unsubsidized, travel over 270,000 miles of roads and highways and fill a need not met by other modes of transportation.

The need for intercity public transportation, of course, developed with the urbanization of the nation. Waterways and then railroads superseded stages and freight wagons in meeting the increasing demand for transportation of freight—and passengers—to the interior of the expanding nation. For some three-quarters of a century, in fact, railroads reigned as the principal means of passenger and freight transport. Not until the 1880's, when the tinkers of the eastern and midwestern industrial belt turned their attention to the horseless carriage powered by the internal-combustion engine, did the country witness the first stirrings of an alternative commercial vehicle business.

By the late-nineteenth century, the industrial northeast had been blanketed by railroads, and the flat Midwest boasted the electric interurban railway.

Mr. Bail, western vice-president of the Motor Bus Society and a collector of historic bus photographs, frequently contributes articles on California transit to the Society's monthly magazine, *Motor Coach Age*.



In 1916 D. M. Brockway affixed this simple body by Crown Carriage Works to a Mack Model AB chassis to produce one of California's first motor coaches. Pneumatic tires on wood-spoke wheels and electric headlights assured a safe ride by the standards of the time. Crown Coach builds school buses to this day.

In the South and the Great Plains, rail lines were fewer but still sufficient to serve the regions' economic needs. Only in the newly-opened territories where railroads were least developed were they vulnerable to competition from any new mode of transportation. In the timber country of the Pacific Northwest, the iron ranges of Minnesota, the oil fields of Texas, and particularly in the agricultural region of California, population and commerce expanded more quickly than steel rails could follow. And it was in California that the intercity bus industry was born.*

Both hobbyists and entrepreneurs quickly recognized the potential of adapting the internal-combustion engine for commercial use. As early as 1905 gasoline engines propelled occasional limousines and touring cars carrying passengers and baggage between railroad stations and resorts and hotels.

Yet, only individuals with a certain pioneering spirit and inventiveness could reasonably expect to participate in the development of commercial motor vehicles from the as yet unproved, and barely improved, autos and trucks. Foremost, buses as such did not exist. Wagon-makers recently turned truck-body builders had yet new demands placed upon them by pioneer bus entrepreneurs who, themselves, frequently entered the field via auto dealerships. Parts, nearly impossible to secure from manufacturers, had to be forged by local blacksmiths. Unimproved roads rapidly chewed up tires, which were rarely interchangeable between vehicles of different makes and models, and tire recapping and rebuilding proved to be a major expense in operating buses.

*For more extensive information on the growth of the industry, and text and photographs on buses to the present day, see Albert E. Meier and John P. Hoschek, *Over the Road: A History of Intercity Bus Transportation in the United States* (Upper Montclair, New Jersey: Motor Bus Society, 1975). Much of the material in this article is based on information in this publication, and is used with the permission of the authors.



This compact, open, twenty-one-passenger White chassis with Avery body typified the Motor Transit Company during the expansive years of the early 1920's. Fender wells held luggage on the 3½-hour run from Los Angeles to San Bernardino and Redlands. Motor Bus Society

Around 1912, Mountain Auto Line began carrying hardware and groceries fourteen miles from San Bernardino to the mountain town of Crestline. Passengers, at first only begrudgingly accommodated, sat in seats bolted on behind the driver. This White-made tourer with canvas top carried at least four spare tires to guarantee arrival at the mile-high resort of Forest Home. Motor Bus Society





With purpose-built buses still in the future, early California stage operators began service with touring cars. Successful entrepreneurs offering long-distance service preferred expensive, heavier cars—the Pierce-Arrow, Packard, and Cadillac. Highly modified to meet local requirements, the original cars were frequently unrecognizable by the time they reached service. Operators of local and suburban routes, where speed and comfort were less important, chose light truck chassis—Reo, White, Mack, and Moreland. Locally-built, wood-frame bodies, open on the sides, were fitted to these chassis after the style of the stretched-out touring cars used in long-distance services. While their Eastern counterparts still debated the possibilities of heating their buses, California operators advanced to installing reclining seats, radios, and fold-back roofs. By the mid-twenties rest rooms were not uncommon, and some routes offered buffet service.

Mechanically, the low-slung, long-wheelbase stages used by California operators were far superior to the vehicles used in the East. Although California's popular door-at-each-seat construction carried on the older tradition of the rebuilt touring car, the six-cylinder engines, rebuilt radiators, heavier transmissions, and oversized brakes which soon graced the California machines promised better things to come.

Pickwick Stages, in the bus-manufacturing business by 1925, customarily rebuilt Pierce-Arrow commercial chassis and equipped them with its own sedan-style stage body. This model seated thirty passengers in reclining seats, a welcome convenience on Pickwick's longer routes since 1922.



In the mid-1920's stewards assigned seats to passengers on long-distance runs made in stages with individual doors. Ladies sat together, the infirm were offered the front compartments, and Mexicans and Orientals rode in the rear. Comfortably-appointed smoking compartments pleased male travelers.





THE MOTOR CARRIER

Travel by
Motor Stage
Transportation
at Your
Door

Vol. 6

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER, 1927

No. 1



THE SIDE SHOW'S A LITTLE LATE

Regulation

In the early years, fares and schedules were determined casually by whatever the traffic would bear. Californians (and, later, other states) realized, however, that the traveling public would be better served if the free-wheeling aspects of the industry were regulated.

As a result on May 1, 1917, the state passed the Motor Carrier Act which declared that the California Railroad Commission would regulate motor carriers in addition to the state's other utilities. While existing motor stage companies were granted "grandfather rights" to continue operations, the first function of the Railroad Commission seemed to many stage operators to be to protect the competitive posture of the Southern Pacific Railroad and its subsidiaries. Although rail interests vigorously opposed applications for new or extended bus service after 1917, the motor stage business grew rapidly, and the men and machines that constituted its most important ingredients worked hard to keep pace.

Out of this antagonism stage operators formed the Motor Carrier Association of California in 1918 to unite the growing industry and promote its interests. Its principals included O. R. Fuller of the Motor Transit Company, C. S. Wren of Pickwick Stages, and W. E. Travis of California Stages.

The Operators

From the automobile sightseeing and transfer services common in California in the 1910's, it was but a short step to intercity common-carrier operation. Competition and calamity consumed many pioneers, and out of the several-hundred operators which came under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission in 1917, three emerged which left a lasting imprint on the industry. All three excelled through a series of mergers and consolidations, and all three chose to construct their own equipment rather than accept the offerings of eastern truck-builders. Eastern vehicles, not surprisingly, proved ill-suited to the rigorous operating conditions of western roads and topography.

Antagonism between the competing industries fostered the Motor Carrier's cynicism about Southern Pacific's attempt to cash-in on the success of independent stage lines, which had prospered in the 1920's despite railroad opposition exercised through the regulatory Railroad Commission.



CALIFORNIA TRANSIT COMPANY—The story of W. E. Travis and the California Transit Company, which grew to be one of the largest segments of today's nation-wide Greyhound network, reflects the flexibility and growth of the early industry. Travis, whose father had been a western stage coach operator, began his transportation career as a star-route mail contractor. In 1905 he became interested in converting autos to taxi cabs, and, to secure machines of adequate capacity and durability, he began building taxi bodies on one-ton commercial White chassis. As competition in the taxi industry grew in the 1910's, Travis turned to manufacturing buses and then to operating buses himself by acquiring and merging individual carriers to whom he sold buses. By 1924, Travis had acquired associations and partnerships to give California Transit an extensive route network radiating from Oakland across Central California.

California Body Building Company constructed its first complete coach for California Transit in 1923. The four-wheeler's frame was a one-piece fabrication replacing the earlier stretched and spliced chassis. Door labels reserved seats for classes of passengers.



California Transit may have operated as many as fifty of its own six-wheel buses by the mid-1920's. Dual rear wheels on a single axle replaced the double rear-axle machines, like the ones on the bus shown outside Travis' Oakland factory, which tended to skid on wet roads.

By the mid-twenties California Transit Company's buses fanned out across the state from Oakland and San Francisco to Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, and Los Angeles.

Representative Equipment of **CALIFORNIA TRANSIT COMPANY**





Quick to comprehend that the era of casual curbside loading and ticketing arrangements was passing—and that better facilities encouraged more travel and higher profits—Pickwick Stages opened a new hotel and terminal in San Francisco on Fifth Street between Mission and Market in 1924.

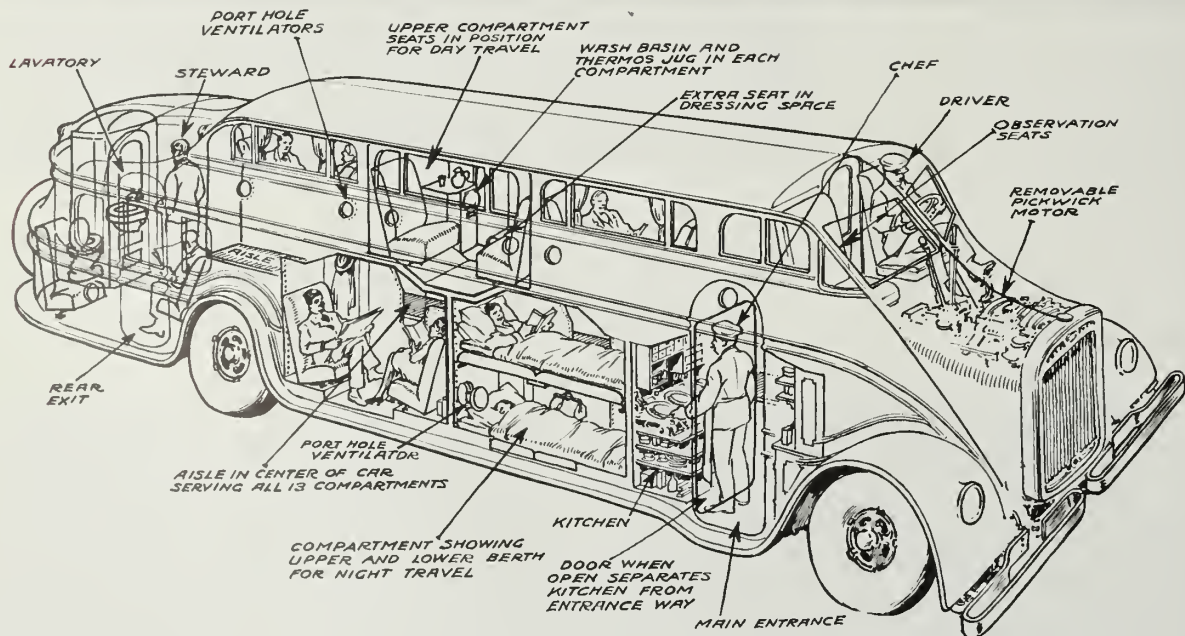
PICKWICK STAGES—Another early bus line, the Imperial Valley Auto Stage, ran 125 hard miles from San Diego due east to El Centro over the Old Spanish Trail. Imperial, like several owner-driver associations running this route, clearly bested the indirect rail service which took two days to detour via Los Angeles.

In 1912, Imperial's founder, A. L. Hayes, moved his location to a small stand in front of San Diego's Pickwick Theater, and before long the company became known as Pickwick Stages. A line to Los Angeles soon developed, and in 1918, Hayes merged his operation with that of C. S. Wren, who became the most important figure in the Pickwick empire. Wren had started a stage route between Los Angeles and Santa Barbara in 1915 which, by purchase and extensions, was running through to San Francisco in 1918.

Pickwick expanded its routes by absorbing lines such as Borderland Transportation Company in 1925. Borderland extended 750 miles from San Diego across this plank desert road (photo taken near Holtville) to El Paso.



Surpassing even its own tradition of luxury, Pickwick introduced the thirty-five-foot-long "Alsacia," a Nite Coach carrying twenty-six passengers accommodated in thirteen semi-private compartments. Seats converted to berths, ending the necessity of overnight stops at hotels and transfers.



Wren introduced to the industry the luxury of reworked Pierce-Arrow touring cars which came to provide a standard of service unmatched by any competition. As a result, his coast route extended to Portland in 1921 and to Seattle soon afterward. Reorganized as a holding company in 1922, the Pickwick Corporation's assets reached more than \$2,000,000 (including 150 buses) in 1924. By the end of the next year, the Los Angeles shops were turning out new buses at a record pace, and the lines had reached Phoenix and El Paso by purchase of the Borderland Transportation Co.

The cross-section drawing of the "Alsacia" identified its many features of comfort, including seats that folded to berths and a sparkling kitchen for preparation of hot meals.



MOTOR TRANSIT COMPANY—In 1916, the Los Angeles distributor for White trucks, O. R. Fuller, reluctantly repossessed two chassis with passenger-stage bodies from the P&E Stage Line operating between Los Angeles and Anaheim. Renaming the enterprise White Bus Line, he soon made it profitable and proceeded to acquire other lines in the area. In 1919 he hired F. D. Howell, formerly chief engineer of the Los Angeles Bureau of Public Utilities, as general manager, and in 1920, the Motor Transit Company was organized to succeed White Bus Line.

During the next few years, Motor Transit acquired the lines of more than a dozen other operators, and the “El Dorado System,” as it was called, soon stretched from San Diego and Victorville to Bakersfield and Lancaster, as well as to the popular resort areas of the San Bernardino and San Jacinto Mountains.

Motor Transit’s “El Dorado System” included runs to mountain resorts such as Lake Arrowhead and Big Bear Valley. Poor roads, high altitudes, strained vehicles, and snow plagued early travelers.



SYSTEM MAP



Shows Where to Go How to Get There

Dependable DAILY Service
at Frequent Intervals
to Principal Points in
LOS ANGELES -- SAN BERNARDINO
RIVERSIDE & ORANGE COUNTIES

Transportation of a brass band complete with horns proved no obstacle for Motor Transit in 1925.



Los Angeles' Union Stage Depot, built in 1919 by Motor Transit and shared with other stage lines, increased by 20 per cent the number of travelers riding the bus. Modeled after a railroad terminal, this busiest bus depot west of the Mississippi serviced some 270 runs a day in 1922.

Merger and Consolidation

By 1926 leading stage companies were forced to recognize that the relentless competition for California's major motor-stage routes was neither economical nor efficient. Toward the goal of consolidating territories for economy of operation, the Railroad Commission approved the so-called Tri-Stage Merger. This merger authorized an exchange of rights between Motor Transit, Pickwick Stages, and California Stages, and defined territories of service.

Motor Transit retired from the long-distance field, giving up its Lancaster and Bakersfield routes to California Transit and its San Diego line to Pickwick Stages. In return, local lines owned and controlled by Pickwick in the territory south of Los Angeles were transferred to Motor Transit. California Transit, in turn, purchased from Pickwick its local rights in the Fresno area, as well as a leased line which ran from Los Angeles to Bakersfield via Mojave. Accordingly, on May 13, 1926, the exchanges resulted in Pickwick Stages being the sole operator on the Coast route, California Stages holding a consolidated Valley route, and Motor Transit dominating Orange County.

Following the Tri-Stage Merger, W. E. Travis expanded his lines eastward, and the home-built, yellow "Pioneer Stages" became the basis of an association of independent companies using the name "Pioneer Yellowway System." Travis purchased a small interest in each of the companies, which, together with the California Transit Company, formed a holding company called American Motor Transportation Company. This group of companies operated the first cross-country commercial bus, a Pioneer Stage which, in 1928, ran from San Francisco to New York in five days and fourteen hours.

By 1928, the Pickwick Corporation had expanded its holdings to include hotels, radio stations, and an airline. Under the guidance of the vice-president and manager, Dwight Austin, the Pickwick Motor Coach Works produced such innovations as the deck-and-half parlor coach and the sleeper bus.

Yellowway's transcontinental exploits soon attracted the attention of the Motor Transit Corporation, a midwestern holding-company operating under the name "Greyhound Lines." In the spring of 1928, the Greyhound system consisted of twelve different companies operating 325 buses. Seizing the opportunity to expand into California, Motor Transit Corporation purchased American Motor Transportation for \$6,000,000 in February, 1929, and Pickwick Stages later the same year. The California lines soon came under the umbrella of a new holding company called Pacific Greyhound Lines, owned one-third by Motor Transit, one-third by Pickwick, and one-third by Southern Pacific Railroad, which had started its own bus lines in 1927.

As coach transportation became big business, corporate public relations departments continued to promote a safety-conscious and respectable image. In Portland, Pacific Greyhound focused on its inspection mirrors and teetotaling recreational facilities for drivers away from home and its well-lighted garage facilities.



After the Tri-Stage Merger, Motor Transit Company (the Los Angeles operator) was transformed from an intercity carrier with some suburban routes into a strictly suburban carrier competing directly with the Pacific Electric Railway—a Southern Pacific subsidiary. Pacific Electric, through its parent's interest in Pacific Greyhound Lines, bought out the thriving Fuller-and-Howell creation, Motor Transit, for \$3,000,000 in 1930. By 1936, Pacific Electric had completely absorbed its erstwhile competitor.

The Independents

While few early motor-stage operators succeeded in building lasting transit empires—and most sold or merged with the forming giants—a few persisted in business within their original territories. One such small-scale operation, which dates from 1914 when a group of independent operators ran between Oakland, San Jose, and Santa Cruz, was the Peerless Auto Stage Association. Incorporated in 1921, the Peerless Stage system still runs its original seventy-five-mile line, and two of its founders actively help manage the firm some sixty years after its founding. Although a small company, Peerless is an historic part of intercity bus transportation.

The advent of the 1930's brought major changes to the motor bus industry in California. The economic depression, of course, curtailed private travel and public luxury, forcing many small operators and some larger ones out of business. Many surviving firms merged and consolidated but ceased manufacturing their own equipment.

When bus construction stopped at the Pickwick factory upon formation of Pacific Greyhound Lines, an end came to the most innovative motor-vehicle designs ever produced. In 1930, too, manufacturing ceased at the Pioneer plant in Oakland.

It is notable that long after Pacific Electric Railway absorbed the lines of the Motor Transit Company, it abandoned its interurban rail lines and returned to buses. The former Motor Transit lines became the backbone of the new system, and today, two successors later, these same routes are traveled by the Southern California Rapid Transit District.

Similarly, the former Pickwick Stages and California Transit lines form the core of Greyhound's western operations. While the busman's grand dream of competing with railroad Pullman cars may have crashed with the Depression, today's intercity bus network continues to provide a more essential service—stable and economical transportation for a large segment of the traveling public. □

Peerless No. 117—a thirty-passenger, six-wheeler—was photographed in 1925 in Oakland's Lakeside Park, a spot favored by Peerless' publicity department.

In 1922 Peerless coach drivers posed with their machines in front of the Oakland depot at Eleventh and Clay. Over six decades their routes have remained largely unchanged, but the Fageol Safety Coaches—an East Bay product—are long gone.





Lovely to contemplate but with no basis in fact is this rendering of "The Founders of Los Angeles," a typical late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century historical fantasy.

a new look at the founding of *Old Los Angeles*

In 1876 the United States Centennial Commission asked communities around the country to prepare and publish their own local histories. The studies were to cover "the earliest settlement to the present time." In Los Angeles three men—old timers, at least one of whom had lived in the city for nearly half a century—responded to the request with a slim volume entitled *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*. Semi-centenarian author J. J. Warner included an account of the founding of Los Angeles based largely on a personal inspection of original sources in public archives. Warner's brief description of the event, phrasings which have appeared in many accounts since that day, has special interest, because his words are apparently accurate but subject to broad and varied interpretation:

The Town (Pueblo) of Nuestra Senora de Los Angeles [sic], under and in conformity to an order of the Governor of California, Phelipe de Neve, dated at the Mission of San Gabriel, August 26th, 1781, was founded in a formal manner on the fourth of September of the same year.¹

Over the years Warner's account has become "fact," yet a new reading of more extensive records raises questions about the accepted whens, wheres, whos, and hows of the notable, if then inauspicious, events in 1781 on the

banks of the River Porciúncula. Warner identified only one of his sources, a certified copy of Governor Neve's original order, which contained obvious and, as he said, inexcusable errors. He then concluded his account with the offhand remark that "other evidence before us fixed the date of the founding of Los Angeles in September, 1781." That other evidence was apparently a copy of the original *padron del vecindario* or poll of residents of November 19, 1781.²

Warner's account, dated 1876, is the earliest publication citing official records that documents the city's founding. While his choice of words is very much like that of another historical sketch published about 1872, the earlier account, also probably written by Warner, contained no documentation.³ Contemporary accounts written by Father Francisco Palou during the 1770's and 1780's have been rejected by most historians.⁴

In 1886, Hubert Howe Bancroft published a detailed and carefully documented history of California which contained the first history of Los Angeles reflecting an extensive examination of archival materials. Bancroft's description of the actual founding, however, is a model of cautious understatement: "We only know that the pueblo was founded September 4th, with twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons in all." Because one of the twelve was "at first absent at Loreto," as was the man's daughter, Bancroft concluded that the actual founding group contained eleven families with a total of forty-four persons.⁵

Mr. Kelsey is chief curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

This study was financed in part by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the Natural History Museum Foundation.

Later historians offered a few important details in variance with those put forth by Warner and Bancroft, particularly involving the number of people in the founding party, the existence of a military escort, previous military service or lack thereof on the part of the settlers, and the ceremony attending the foundation. But most historians have accepted that on September 4, 1781, about eleven families of settlers trekked from San Gabriel and took part in a ceremony establishing the city on the banks of the Rio Porciúncula.⁶

If any doubt remained in the minds of researchers about the details surrounding the founding of Los Angeles, it seems to have been foreclosed in 1931. In that sesquicentennial year of the city's birth, Thomas Workman Temple published the results of his investigations, accompanied by lengthy translations of original documents. Temple concluded that eleven families of settlers—forty-four persons—settled Los Angeles on September 4, 1781.⁷ However, a reevaluation of the sources, some of his own as well as other records now available, indicates that the city was founded in a somewhat different way than has been previously believed.

The story begins in April, 1781, when California Governor Felipe de Neve moved from Monterey to San Gabriel to await the arrival of the soldiers and settlers destined for the new pueblo of Los Angeles and the missions and presidio that he planned to establish in that Santa Barbara Channel region. Whether Neve took any steps to prepare the channel sites for settlement is unknown, but he did begin work immediately at the site selected for the new pueblo of Los Angeles.⁸

The site had been scheduled for a mission since 1769 when Franciscan Father Juan Crespí first saw it and named it *Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de la Porciúncula* for the river on which it was located. An Indian town already occupied the spot, "a fine *ranchería*" where the Indians were "very docile and friendly," according to Crespí.

They called the town Yabit, and, as the good fathers said, the people were "the cleanest we have seen." Most importantly, however, the Indians apparently liked the padres and wanted them to stay.⁹

The friendly disposition of the Indians at Yabit apparently did not change over the years, for in 1779 Teodoro de Croix, the frontier commandant general, remarked in a letter to Lieutenant Governor Fernando de Rivera y Moncada that the local natives were "docile and without malice." Taking advantage of this attitude, in the spring of 1781 Neve apparently travelled to the "fine *ranchería*" and selected three dozen boys and girls for conversion to Christianity. Neve himself acted as godfather at twelve of the baptisms. Just before the soldiers and settlers from Mexico began to arrive, Neve chose a young married couple, renamed them Felipe de Neve and Phelipa Theresa de Neve, and not only sponsored their baptism but remarried them "in the eyes of the Church."¹⁰

Neve's motivations for the unusual actions went unrecorded, but we do know that his new *Reglamento* or regulations for government and administration urged the founding of towns and missions. Effective on January 1, 1781, it was calculated in part to bring about a radical change in the mission system and, perhaps, a reduction in the temporal power of the padres. No longer were Christian Indians to reside at missions. Instead, they would live at their *rancherías*, practice a degree of self-government, and return to the missions from time to time for religious instruction.¹¹ The new group of youthful Indian converts at Yabit, headed by the young Indian couple renamed Neve, could well have been intended as the nucleus of a Christian Indian settlement adjoining the new pueblo of Los Angeles.

Title Fourteen of Neve's new *Reglamento* supports this interpretation. As put forth in the document, one major purpose of the new towns in California would be "to hasten the conversion . . . of the countless pagans." Commandant General Croix's instructions to Rivera noted,

hacer en que ^{el} mayor se reserven la Cuenta de los tres de
comunidad, robadores, conserjes y sus ajustes hasta el día 1
de Mayo de 1822, que por su orden del Sr. D. Felipe de
este Excmo. Ayuntamiento. Ponen a la Península se Gubier.
El Sr. D. de San Prudencio; reinos de valida. ~~~~~

[illegible]

Alonso		
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por Disuon, y Vagagen	no 12	21
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go à este destino, hasta el 2 ^o de Mayo		
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Alonos.		
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	es el Capitan	
61	Don Cuyago el Cofre el 2.º de Jefe de Jefe	1013.0.0.54
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63	Don Racion el 1.º de Jefe de Jefe de Jefe Jefe el 1.º de Jefe de Jefe de Jefe	1007.2.0.0
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Mais o que veio pagado	33,30	
Deu a favor do Venido José de la Parroja		326,20
4780 qu. e registado hasta el estado	209,33	
2 de Cortez Marzo a 24 de Agosto		19,00
		no alcançando

<u>Mis Gincoro</u>	
Bruza Cuena provisional n.º 76 con la semimozz e l'c }	" 1.º 57.6
Capitan D. Fernando de Rivera en repar ^{ta}	" 34.40
n.º el Ten. D. José Larrosa en Rajon eo y Uragua.....	" 27.48
Indice de que llevo à exte Barrio se ha mima tra da en Bucone	Total Caraco " 191.6

[illegible]

Resumen Gral.

Cargos	785.31%
Viveros	8.20 31.6%
Total Utilizaciones	1055.00 61%

COMO manifiesta este Resumen asiendole las Submisiones
hechas a oem tres Individuos s'ecientes Ochenta y cinco
p' tres d' Uno, y siete octavo oneros, que deducido de ochenta
y cinco quaxenta p' tres d' vein y tres quatro p' tres
el Total alcanze a cinc. y cinco p. q'z. y siete atalos
Com. Febrio 22 de Mayo de 1782.

Lieutenant Ortega adjusted the accounts of departing settlers Mesa, Lara, and Quintero, and incidentally confirmed their arrival at San Gabriel in June and July, 1781.

moreover, that a prime duty of the Los Angeles settlers would be “to attract the Indians joyfully by the practice of true justice and good example to the knowledge of our Sacred Religion.”¹²

Expecting opposition from the missionary priests, Neve remained silent while residing at San Gabriel in early 1781 about this aspect of his *Reglamento*. Instead, he told the fathers only that they lacked skill at proselytizing, an activity, he urged, at which he excelled.¹³

While the governor amused himself at San Gabriel and annoyed the missionaries with his conversion work, the settlers who had enlisted to establish the new town of Los Angeles were slowly making their way north to meet him at Mission San Gabriel. They were accompanied on their trek by a band of fresh recruits destined for the Upper California presidios.

The entire party had been recruited and organized with some difficulty by Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada in Sonora and Sinaloa. Rivera led the larger part of the group, including most of the soldiers, on a northerly overland trail through Sonora and Arizona. The Los Angeles settlers traveled with a smaller military escort by sea to Loreto and the northern end of the Baja California peninsula and then overland north to San Gabriel.

The original group of settlers destined for Los Angeles included about sixteen heads of families. Some fell by the wayside long before reaching San Gabriel, but all those who completed the sea and land journey traveled with their families and worldly possessions. So far as the financial records of the expedition now show,¹⁴ those who enlisted were:

1. José de Lara, his wife María Antonia Campos, two sons, and a daughter;¹⁵
2. José Antonio Navarro, his wife María Regina Dorotea, two sons, and a daughter;¹⁶
3. Basilio Rosas, his wife María Manuela Calixtra, five sons, and one daughter;¹⁷

N. 726. 26

Or
D. Nino S.

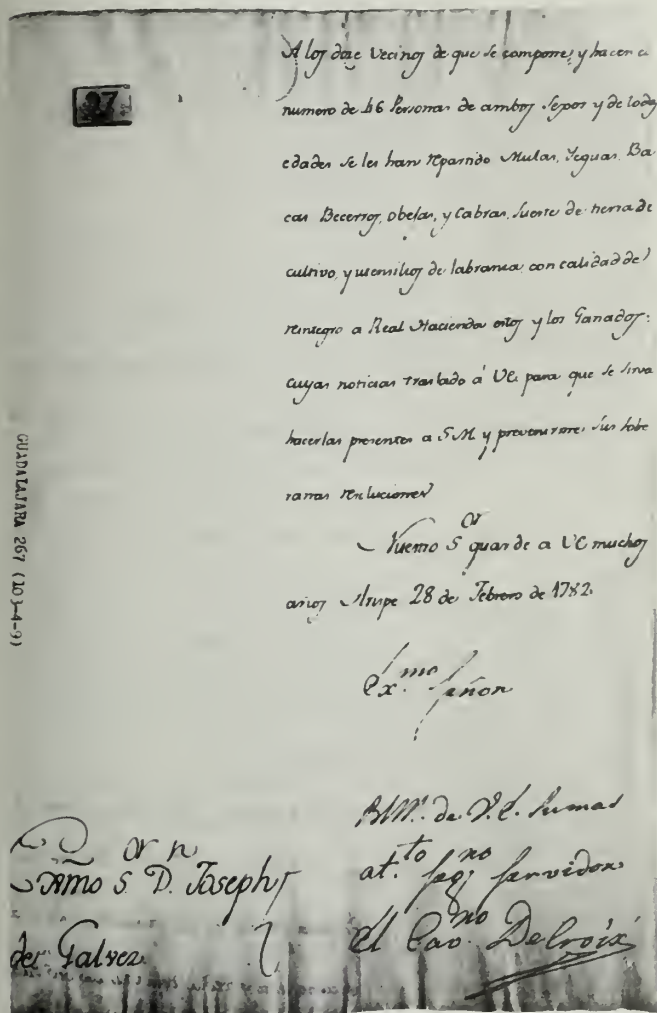
Al Señor mio. el Governador de la Peninsula de California D.^{no} Felipe de Nere me dio cuenta en 12 de Noviembre del año proximo pasado de que el día 4 de Septiembre antecedente verifico el establecimiento del nuevo Pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles al margen del Rio de la Torcuemula con parte de los pobladores que traslado el dicho Capitan D.^{no} Fernando de Alencar y hicieron su viage por Mar.

Esta distante el referido nuevo Pueblo 45 le guas del Puerto de S.^{to} Diego, 27 del tino designado para fundar el del Canal de S.^{ta} Barbara y como una y media de la Union de S.^{to} Gabriel

GUADALUPE 267 (1034-9)

4. Antonio Mesa, his wife Ann Gertrudis López, a son, and a daughter;¹⁸
5. Antonio Villavicencio, his wife María de los Santos Severina, and one daughter;¹⁹
6. José Banegas, his wife María Máxima Aguilar, and one son;²⁰
7. Alejandro Rosas, and his wife Juana Rodríguez;²¹
8. Pablo Rodríguez, his wife María Rosalía Noriega, and one daughter;²²

Commandant General de Croix wrote to José de Gálvez that Governor Neve "formally certified the establishment of the town" on September 4, 1781, with a portion of the settlers recruited by Rivera.



15. Rafael Mesa and family;²⁹

16. Miguel Villa, his wife, one son, and two daughters.³⁰

Only the first eleven families, forty-four individuals in all, completed the journey to Los Angeles. Antonio Miranda Rodríguez remained in Loreto, Baja California, with his daughter who contracted smallpox.³¹ Pedro Pablo Rodríguez died on August 28, 1780, in Real de Cosalá, where he had enlisted. His daughters Juana Simona and Lucinda, along with his son Vizente, traveled to California with the other settlers, and the girls almost immediately married soldiers at San Diego.³²

Nicolasa Ramírez, a widow, had enlisted as a settler in October, 1780. Almost as soon as the party reached San Gabriel, she married Recruit Guillermo Soto, the only eligible bachelor among the enlisted men in the military escort, and thereby moved from the rank of settler to that of military personnel.³³ Although widows and widowers may have seemed dubious pioneer material, a precedent had been established in the founding of San José, and in any case the widow quickly found herself a husband.³⁴

The settler Rafael Mesa deserted at Real de los Alamos about October 12, 1780. For a time the California officials debated whether Mesa was a soldier or a settler; however, a list prepared at Alamos on July 15, 1781, just a few days after his enlistment, specifically listed him as a settler.³⁵

About the final family head, Miguel Villa, there was no question. He definitely enlisted as a settler, and he definitely deserted in Mexico about March 4, 1781.³⁶

The military escort party consisted of the following fifteen soldiers, most married and with families:³⁷

1. Lieutenant José de Zúñiga;³⁸

2. Ensign Ramón Laso de la Vega;³⁹

3. Recruit Julián Guerrero and his wife;⁴⁰

4. Recruit Francisco Javier Sepúlveda, his wife, five sons, and one daughter;⁴¹

5. Recruit Agustín Leyva, his wife, and five sons;⁴²

6. Recruit Victorino Félix, his wife, and four children;⁴³

9. Luis Quintero, his wife María Petra Ruvio, one son, and four daughters;²³

10. Manuel Camero, and his wife María Thomasa;²⁴

11. José Moreno, and his wife María Guadalupe Gertrudis;²⁵

12. Antonio Miranda Rodríguez, and one daughter;²⁶

13. Pedro Pablo Rodríguez, one son, and two daughters;²⁷

14. Nicolasa Ramírez, one son, and two daughters;²⁸

7. Recruit Guillermo Soto, bachelor;⁴⁴
8. Recruit Eugenio Valdéz and his new bride;⁴⁵
9. Recruit Justo Hernández, his wife, one son, and two daughters;⁴⁶
10. Recruit José Lovo, his wife, and four sons;⁴⁷
11. Recruit Josef Antonio Cortéz and his new bride;⁴⁸
12. Recruit Gaspar López, his wife, four sons, and a daughter;⁴⁹
13. Recruit Joaquín Rodríguez and his new bride;⁵⁰
14. Recruit Francisco Juárez, his wife, and one child;⁵¹
15. Recruit Fructuoso María Ruiz and his new wife.⁵²

In addition, María Pasquala, wife of soldier Miguel Silva who was attached to the San Francisco presidio, traveled with the group to join her husband in California and brought along her daughters.⁵³

While there may have been others, in September, 1781, Lieutenant Zúñiga claimed responsibility for only fifteen military families, eleven settler families, and two widows. Zúñiga's entire group had assembled in the inland town of Real de los Alamos following Commandant General Croix's detailed plan and Rivera's personal orders. They then departed for the Playa de Santa Barbara at the mouth of the Rio Mayo, where boats were to take them across the Gulf of California to Loreto.⁵⁴

With so many civilian families in the party it was not easily organized. While most of the group departed Alamos for the coast on February 2, 1781, two sailors left earlier, perhaps to prepare a camp for the others, and settlers José Moreno and Antonio Miranda Rodríguez remained until February 16, perhaps in the company of another settler, Luis Quintero, who did not enlist until February 3 after most of the others had already departed.⁵⁵

The settlers crossed the gulf and arrived in Loreto, Baja California, apparently bringing with them a smallpox epidemic which quickly spread throughout the entire peninsula. Most of the party seem to have stayed for some days in Loreto, perhaps in a quarantine camp. Then, on

March 12, 1781, Ensign Laso took seventeen of the civilian and military families (probably the healthy ones) by ship up the gulf to the Bahía de San Luis. On April 24 they began the long march overland to San Gabriel.⁵⁶

Lieutenant Zúñiga followed some days later with the remaining families. In the confusion Antonio Miranda Rodríguez and his daughter were left in Loreto. For a time it was thought that Rodríguez had deserted like Rafael Mesa and Miguel Villa, but word soon came that the poor fellow's daughter was recovering from smallpox and that he expected to continue the trip when she was well again.⁵⁷

Considering the geographical isolation, communications between Upper and Lower California were surprisingly good. On April 16, 1781, Father Fermín Francisco Lasuén in San Diego reported that Zúñiga's party was on its way north with a total of 133 persons. His letter was written a full month before Governor Neve reported officially that Laso and part of the group was headed north from Bahía de San Luis, trailed by Zúñiga with the rest of the party. Before another month had passed the first settlers arrived in San Gabriel.⁵⁸

This June arrival date is definite from records dated March 22, 1782, that adjust the accounts of three settlers who were leaving Los Angeles. In words that speak of "this Mission" and "this destination," Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, commandant of the proposed new presidio at Santa Barbara and the surrounding military district, reported that one Antonio Mesa had entered San Gabriel on "the ninth day of June, 1781."⁵⁹

Apparently, at least three other settler families arrived with Mesa in June, and all settled quickly on their land. Father Francisco Palou, whose source was probably the priests at San Gabriel, relayed this information in much the same way as Lasuén reported on the progress of the settlers marching north from Bahía de San Luis. Very shortly after the information reached him, Palou probably sat down, as was his habit, and wrote the following account in his ongoing manuscript history of California:

“A town is started that had its beginnings about June of ’81. In it are established four families of people of reason and four soldiers of the escort.”

There arrived first at San Gabriel the people who came by way of Old California, and as soon as part of them arrived he [Neve] gave them the order to found the projected town of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles with some four families [*unos cuatro familias*]. . . . The rest of the troop was kept at San Gabriel Mission until the group arrived that came [overland] by way of the Colorado River.⁶⁰

The exact date of Palou's entry has not been established, although historian Herbert E. Bolton has contended that each section of the manuscript was written soon after the event described.⁶¹ Regardless, another of Palou's lengthy, undated entries about the presidios and missions of California must have been written soon after Los Angeles was founded and finished no later than the fall of 1782. In the manuscript Palou described the new pueblo:

Town of Our Lady of the Angels

About three leagues directly northwest [of San Gabriel] on the banks of the River named Porciúncula a town is started that had its beginning about June of 81. In it are established four families of people of reason and four soldiers of the escort.⁶²

Some months later, in a similar but more extensive account of the missions and settlements of California, Palou repeated much the same information about the founding of Los Angeles. “This settlement,” said Palou, “was started in June, 1781.” He noted then, however, that there were eight families of settlers, rather than the original four who had come together on the site.⁶³

These developments followed a certain logic, for Neve's own *Reglamento* provided that each settler be placed on the land just as soon as he arrived. According to this regulation each settler was entitled to 10 pesos a month in pay and 2 reales per day for rations, beginning at the time of his enlistment and ending when he was put in possession of his land. After that, salaries and rations were phased out by lowering the rates to 116 pesos 3½ reales per year for the first two years, then 60 pesos per year for the next three years, after which all payments ceased. Thus, as Neve explained, it was very much to the advantage of the government to put settlers on the land immediately so as to end the payment of salaries and rations at the high enlistment rate and start them on the five-year period of decreasing reimbursements.⁶⁴

The names of the individuals and families who, with Antonio Mesa, established the settlement of Los Angeles on the banks of the River Porciúncula cannot be identified with certainty. Probably the widow Nicolasa Ramírez and soldier Guillermo Soto were in the first group, because they were known to have presented themselves at San Gabriel Mission on July 21 and asked to be married. They were accompanied by soldiers Agustín Leyba and Victorino Felix who testified that they were free to marry.⁶⁵

On July 14, 1781, Lieutenant Diego Gonzales and Ensigns José Arguello and Cayetano Limón arrived at San Gabriel in command of the second party to arrive. This was the group that had trekked overland by way of the Colorado River with Rivera. (Rivera himself had remained in the Colorado River settlements with some of his soldiers and was murdered a few weeks later.) On July 22, 1781, more of the Los Angeles settlers arrived at San Gabriel, perhaps escorted by Ensign Josef Velásquez, sent from Monterey by Neve in March to help escort the Zúñiga party north.⁶⁶

⁶⁶Included in the July 22 group were José Lara and Luis

Settlers met at Mission San Gabriel, established in 1771, before traveling the final three leagues to the Town of Our Lady of the Angels. Carleton Watkins photographed the mission bell tower in 1876.



Quintero. Their exact arrival date in San Gabriel, like Antonio Mesa's, is established by the accounts prepared for them when they left the settlement of Los Angeles in March, 1782. For José Lara it was on "the 22nd of July 81 that he arrived at this destination." Similarly, for Luis Quintero it was "the 22nd of July of 81 that was his arrival date here."⁶⁷

Did Lara and Quintero immediately move to the new townsite like the first families? The records are not clear. Palou implies that they did not, and their own accounts seem to support this interpretation.

A document prepared at Los Angeles on February 4, 1816, by Guillermo Soto offers evidence, however, that at least two other settlers received their allotments of planting fields in August, 1781, and had taken up residence at the new townsite. Titled "A list that shows the Settlers, Retired Soldiers, and Inhabitants with an Account of their entrance in this Pueblo," the document indicates that Manuel Camero and Basilio Rosas arrived in the new town in August, 1781, and received two *suertes* of land.⁶⁸

In mid-August, the eighteenth to be exact, another party of straggling soldiers and settlers—the group led by Lieutenant Zúñiga—arrived at San Gabriel. Because some members of the party were still recovering from smallpox, Zúñiga had them temporarily quarantined a short distance away from the mission before sending them on to the site of the new town.⁶⁹

A week or so later, Governor Neve, probably eager to make legal existing conditions, ordered that house lots in town and planting fields outside the town be marked off and distributed to the settlers. (San Gabriel Mission records noted that the town of Los Angeles "immediately adjoined" Yabit. But the area was not merely near Yabit; it was almost on top of it). Neve's original order is not extant, but copies and translations support the conclusion that settlers had been dispatched to build homes on the townsite even before Neve ordered the formal distribution of lots and fields.⁷⁰

Settlers had been dispatched to build homes on the townsite even before Neve ordered the formal distribution of lots and fields.

While Lieutenant José Darío Arguello some years later claimed that he had been "commissioned in the year 81 by Don Felipe de Neve, then governor California, to found the town with the title Queen of the Angels, and he founded it,"⁷¹ no contemporary record supporting his statement has yet come to light. Arguello also maintained that he served for several months in the Colorado River settlements, an unlikely possibility. These statements are from his *hoja de servicio* or service record which was prepared in 1790 and signed by Pedro Fages, who a year later made some fanciful claims in his own *hoja de servicio*.⁷²

Most accounts of the founding of Los Angeles argue for the presence of a military escort—a corporal and three private soldiers—as well as claiming that a formal founding ceremony occurred. The only basis for this assertion, however, is a heavily condensed version of the founding contained in Father Palou's biography of Junípero Serra. Interestingly, the same historians who accept Palou's story as proof of a foundation ceremony complete with military escort entirely reject the rest of Palou's account. In fact, it is not entirely clear from the passage that Palou meant to imply anything of the sort. The brevity of his reference to a corporal and three soldiers may merely indicate that a military escort of this composition lived in the town after its establishment.⁷³

While some small ceremony may have marked the birth of Los Angeles, no definite archival record of it appears to exist. Nor is there a document suggesting that Zúñiga's eleven settler families gathered to participate in

a formal distribution of land. In fact, the records seem to indicate that some settlers did not move to Los Angeles from San Gabriel for several weeks, while others moved to the land immediately after arriving.

Financial records drawn up by Zúñiga and his assistants at San Gabriel in September, 1781, supply the names of the residents in Los Angeles in that month. These records, the earliest original reports documenting the founding of the town, list six resident settlers and their families at Los Angeles at the date the statements of account were prepared: Basilio Rosas and family, Antonio Mesa and family, Antonio Villavicencio and family, José Banegas and family, Alejandro Rosas and wife, and Pablo Rodríguez and family. Each settler's account notes that "he is presently living as a citizen in the Town of the Queen of the Angels" (*queda avezindado en el Pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles*).⁷⁴

Probably at least one other individual was also in Los Angeles, though he was not counted as a citizen or a resident. José Lara, who had "fallen ill in the Town of the Queen of the Angels,"⁷⁵ has found he was not cut out to be a farmer and badly wanted to leave the town.

Whether other settlers had arrived at Los Angeles in September is not clear. Historian Henry Raup Wagner, who reviewed most of the accounts that read *queda avezindado*, believed that the phrase implied citizenship but not necessarily residence.⁷⁶ A letter written by Commandant General Croix to José de Gálvez, which cites a communication from Neve dated November 19, 1781, may confirm Wagner's interpretation. In the letter Croix said that Neve "formally certified the establishment of the town" on September 4, 1781, with a portion of the settlers recruited by Rivera. He went on to say that the town had twelve *vecinos*, with a total of forty-six persons in all.⁷⁷

The Croix letter seems to quote the *padron del vecindario* submitted by Neve on November 19 and apparently now extant only in the summary prepared by the copyist employed by historian Bancroft and in an 1872 news-

paper reprint version. That summary stated that the town was founded on September 4, 1781, listed twelve householders, noted that one still remained in Loreto, and said that the lands and goods of the missing settler were being held for his arrival.⁷⁸ Thus, Croix counted one man as a resident who was still a thousand miles away from Los Angeles.

Regardless, all the settlers, except still-absent Miranda Rodríguez, seem to have been in Los Angeles by the end of October. A communication sent by Neve to Croix on October 29 stated that all eleven settlers and families were "in the process of founding the town" and had moved to the townsite, although only eight of the settlers were "useful." In this letter Neve spoke glowingly of the sturdy little huts the people were building for themselves, the irrigation ditch they had completed, and the fields they were planting.⁷⁹

(The prospects of Los Angeles' survival did not look so good a year later when Neve readied to leave California to assume his promotion to inspector general of the Interior Provinces. On that occasion Neve warned the new governor, Pedro Fages, that these settlers needed firm supervision. The first wheat harvest had produced only two-thirds the amount expected, and the corn crop failed because the settlers neglected to irrigate the young plants.)⁸⁰

The presence of the eleven settler families in Los Angeles was definitely confirmed by the *padron del vecindario* taken November 19, 1781. Another document drawn up by Lieutenant Ortega two weeks later stated that all eleven families were on the site and drawing pay and rations accordingly.⁸¹

And so, nearly two centuries ago and quite inauspiciously, began the new town of Los Angeles. Governor Neve had selected the site in the early spring of 1781—a beautiful spot beside the Porciúncula River already inhabited by Indians of the *rauchería* called Yabit.

The first small settler parties from Mexico arrived in June, July, and August of 1781, although it was September 4, 1781, before the governor formally established the town. Within a few weeks all eleven families had taken up residence, but three of them departed again the following March, apparently without having contributed much toward civic betterment.

Similarly, San Jose was settled by small parties before formal recognition was accorded the founding of the town. Settlers moved to the site in early November, 1777, though a formal founding event did not take place until November 29. Other settlers apparently wandered in weeks after the original group had arrived and after the "foundation" had been accomplished.⁸²

It is noteworthy that the ramifications of the revised analysis concerning the events surrounding the establishment of Los Angeles include restoration of the reputation of the almost universally discredited first historian of Upper California, Francisco Palou. Palou's description of the founding of the town on the Rio Porciúncula, written soon after the events themselves, reads:

The [governor] gathered all the settlers that had come as colonists, assigned them building sites and fields on the banks of the River about four leagues northwest of San Gabriel Mission, and there escorted by a corporal and three soldiers, they founded their town in the last months of the year [*a últimos del año*] of 81 with the title Our Lady of the Angels of Porciúncula.⁸³

Condensing several months activity by numbers of people into one sentence, that is just about the way it happened.

The founding ceremony plate illustrated an article by Helen Hunt Jackson in *Century Magazine*, December 1883, p. 195. The Ortega account is in the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), *Provincias Internas*, tomo 198, folio 207. A microfilm copy of the Croix letter is at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The Watkins photo is from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. J. J. Warner, Benjamin Hayes, J. P. Widney, *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California* (Los Angeles, 1876), p. 11. See also Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco, 1886-90); I:44; *An Illustrated History of Southern California* (Chicago, 1890), p. 730.
Although the sources quoted in this article employ a number of variations in the name of Los Angeles, only one official name was given to the town when it was established, *Reyna de los Angeles*. See Theodore E. Treutlein, "Los Angeles, California: The Question of the City's Original Spanish Name," *Southern California Quarterly*, LV (Spring, 1973): 1-7.
2. Warner, *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles*, 11; *La Cronica* (Los Angeles), May 18, 1872, p. 2.
3. *Los Angeles City and County Directory* 1872, pp. 19-20.
4. Some historians, mostly Franciscan scholars, accept Palou's account. See Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (4 vols.; San Francisco, 1912), II:366-67. See also Maynard J. Geiger, *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.; or, The Man who Never Turned Back (1713-1784)* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1959), II:270-71; and Geiger (trans. & ed.), *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 218, 459, 115. For a Franciscan scholar who does not agree with Palou, see Antonine Tibesar (ed.) *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1966), IV:404, 446, 1152.
5. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:345, 124.
6. See, for example, J. M. Guinn, *Historical and Biographical Record of Los Angeles and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1901), p. 34. See also *Illustrated History of Los Angeles*, 48. One of the most fanciful accounts was written by Helen Hunt Jackson, "Echoes in the City of the Angels," *Century Magazine*, XXVII (December, 1883): 194-210.
7. Temple, "Se Fundaron un Pueblo de Espanoles," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual Publications*, XV, part I (1931): 69-98 (hereafter *HSSC Annual*).
8. Neve reached San Gabriel on April 11, according to a letter from Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Francisco Pangua, April 16, 1781, in Finbar Kenneally (ed.), *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1965), I:79.
9. Juan Crespi, "Diario y Caminata que hizo esta dha Expedicion de este Puerto y Nueva Mision del Sr San Diego de Alcalá, en 14 Julio 1769 hacia Monte Rey," *Coleccion de Documentos para Historia de Mexico, Primera Serie, Tomo 2, Misiones de Alta California*, fo. 65-66, *Archivo General de la Nacion*, Mexico City (hereafter, AGN). The name of the Indian town appears in numerous places in the San Gabriel baptismal register. In this article, quotations are spelled and accented as they appear in the original. Spanish names not in quotations are accented in their modern form.

10. Croix to Rivera, December 27, 1779, reprinted in HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931): 192, 257. San Gabriel Mission, baptismal register, vol. I, entries 583–86, 588–606, 615, 634–35, 641–48, 712, 732–33; San Gabriel marriage register, entry 135; microfilm at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
11. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II:350ff; Edwin A. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve, First Governor of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1971), pp. 94–96; Bancroft, *History of California*, I:374–75, 379–81, 398–99; Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:440–41, n81; Serra to Pangua, July 17, 1782, *ibid.*, pp. 153–55.
12. HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):248, 257.
13. Serra to Pangua, July 17, 1782, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV: 153; Geiger, *Palou's Life of Serra*, 229, 231–33; Francisco Palou, *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (Mexico: Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1787), Huntington Library, rare book 57251 (cited hereafter as *Vida*).
14. The financial records of the expedition were reconstructed from notes and memory at San Gabriel following the destruction of the original records in the massacre of Rivera, his soldiers, and the Spanish inhabitants of the new missions and settlements along the Colorado River. These records, cited in footnotes 15–33, 35–38 and 40–53, are in *Provincias Internas*, Tomos 198 and 199, AGN.
15. *Cuenta* 68, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 199, fo. 167–68.
16. *Cuenta* 69, Tomo 199, fo. 171–72.
17. *Cuenta* 70, Tomo 199, fo. 169–70.
18. *Cuenta* 71, Tomo 199, fo. 173–74.
19. *Cuenta* 72, Tomo 199, fo. 175–76. Their daughter, María Gerónima, was the first girl born after the settlers reached San Gabriel. See the San Gabriel baptismal register, vol. I, entry 749, October 3, 1781.
20. *Cuenta* 73, Tomo 199, fo. 177–78.
21. *Cuenta* 74, Tomo 199, fo. 179–80. Their son José Antonio was the first boy born after the settlers reached San Gabriel. See the San Gabriel baptismal register, vol. I, entry 793, November 18, 1781.
22. *Cuenta* 75, Tomo 199, fo. 181–82.
23. *Cuenta* 76, Tomo 199, fo. 183–84.
24. *Cuenta* 77, Tomo 199, fo. 185–86.
25. *Cuenta* 78, Tomo 199, fo. 187–88.
26. *Cuenta* 80, Tomo 199, fo. 189–90.
27. *Cuenta* 82, Tomo 198, fo. 170.
28. *Cuenta* 83, Tomo 198, fo. 165.
29. *Cuenta* 55, Tomo 199, fo. 28.
30. *Cuenta* 79, Tomo 199, fo. 34–35.
31. *Cuenta* 80, Tomo 199, fo. 189.
32. *Cuenta* 82, Tomo 198, fo. 170–172; San Diego Mission marriage register, entries 217 and 218, microfilm in the Huntington Library.
33. *Cuenta* 83, Tomo 199, fo. 165, AGN; San Gabriel marriage register, entry 139.
34. “*Padron del Vecindario que Tiene el Pueblo de Sn. Joseph fundado el 29 de Noviembre de 1777*,” *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 121, fo. 19–20. Typed copy in the Huntington Library, MSS HM16781.
34. *Cuenta* 55, Tomo 199, fo. 28; Manuel Roiz, “*Nota de los Soldados*,” July 15, 1780, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 102.
36. *Cuenta* 79, Tomo 199, fo. 34–35.
37. *Cuenta* 81, Tomo 198, fo. 171.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, California Archives, Provincial Records, State Papers, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299, Bancroft Library (hereafter, CA).
40. *Cuenta* 23, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 199, fo. 117–18.
41. *Cuenta* 35, Tomo 199, fo. 47–48.
42. *Cuenta* 36, Tomo 199, fo. 137–38.
43. *Cuenta* 37, Tomo 199, fo. 139–40.
44. *Cuenta* 38, Tomo 199, fo. 141–42.
45. *Cuenta* 40, Tomo 199, fo. 143–44.
46. *Cuenta* 41, Tomo 199, fo. 145–46.
47. *Cuenta* 42, Tomo 199, fo. 147–48.
48. *Cuenta* 44, Tomo 199, fo. 149–50.
49. *Cuenta* 45, Tomo 199, fo. 41–43.
50. *Cuenta* 46, Tomo 199, fo. 151–52.
51. *Cuenta* 49, Tomo 199, fo. 157–58.
52. *Cuenta* 50, Tomo 199, fo. 159–60.
53. *Cuenta* 85, Tomo 199, fo. 62.
54. José de Zúñiga, September 30, 1781, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 171. In his report Zúñiga apparently counted only those individuals for whose pay and allowances he was responsible on that date. Thus, he omitted Antonio Miranda Rodríguez and his daughter, since they were the responsibility of officials at Loreto. The oldest daughter of Pedro Pablo Rodríguez was counted as a widow, since she was an unattached female with a dependent brother and sister, while Nicolasa Ramírez, a genuine widow, was not counted because her expenses were assumed by the soldier she married. María Pasquala Silva appeared as a widow for somewhat the same reason as the Rodríguez women. While confusing today, this enumeration proved equally confusing to the officers who had to reconstruct these records after the originals were destroyed in the Yuma massacre. Croix to Rivera, December 27, 1799, HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931): 260; Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 106–07. The *cuentas* or accounts of the various soldiers and settlers name these major stopping places.
55. See the *cuentas* of the members of the party, especially the following: *Provincias Internas*, *cuentas* no. 23, fo. 117–18; no. 35, fo. 47–48; no. 76, fo. 183–84; no. 78, fo. 187–88; and no. 80, fo. 189–90, AGN.
56. Luis Sales, *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias* (Valencia, 1794), Carta I: p. 94–95 (Copy in the Huntington Library, rare book 9292). Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299 (see note 39).

57. Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299; "Padron del vecindario, el qe. tiene el pueblo de la Reyna de los Angeles," November 19, 1781, C-A 52, Tomo I, 102.
58. Lasuén to Pangua, April 16, 1781, in *Writings of Lasuén*, 79; Neve to Croix, May 16, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 299.
59. Ortega, "Relacion en que pa. maior se resumen las Cuentas de los tres abajo nominados Pobladores," March 22, 1782, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 207, AGN. See also the San Gabriel marriage register, entry 140, which lists Mesa as one of the *testigos* for a young couple who appeared at San Gabriel Mission on August 8 to be married. I am indebted to William M. Mason for directing me to this entry.
60. Palou, *Noticias de la California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1874), IV:237, Huntington Library, rare book 500. The location of Palou's original manuscript is unknown. A copy prepared about 1790 is in AGN; a microfilm of this copy is in the Bancroft Library. Palou had probably never seen any of the official documents founding the town and therefore assumed it was named as Crespi had written.
61. Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California* (Berkeley, 1926), I:1xx. Interestingly, Bolton translates a key phrase in Palou's account, *unos quatro familias*, as "a few families." See vol. IV: 209.
62. Palou, "Noticia succinta de las 9. Miss., i 3 Presids. de la Nueva California," *Documentos para Historia de Mexico, Ser. II, Tomo XV*, fo. 261-62, AGN. Father Serra thought the phrase *gente de razón* or people of reason ridiculous, complaining that the soldiers and settlers used the phrase "just as if the Indians did not have the use of reason too." Serra to Pangua, December 8, 1782, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:169.
63. Palou, "Remarks on a New Custody in California," in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, IV:404.
64. Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 88; HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931): 181, 249.
65. San Gabriel marriage register, entry 139.
66. Neve to Croix, July 14, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 304-05; Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, II:142, Bancroft Library, cited in Temple, HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):84.
67. Ortega, "Relacion . . . de los tres . . . Pobladores," March 22, 1782, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 207, AGN.
68. I am indebted to William M. Mason for directing me to this document, a copy of which is at the Huntington Library, FAC 667 (603). The original is in the De la Guerra Collection of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.
69. Neve to Croix, October 29, 1781, C-A 22, Tomo II, 306-07. Another document indicates that at least part of the group may have arrived August 16. See the *cuenta* of José Antonio Cortés, November 18, 1781, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 198, fo. 363, AGN.
70. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:344-45 notes. San Gabriel baptismal register, entry 969, describes Yabit as "inmediata al Pueblo."
71. Quoted in Martin de Landaeta, *Noticias acerca del Puerto de San Francisco (Alta California)*, notes by Jose C. Valades (Mexico, 1949), p. 23, n17.
72. Fages' service record appears in *Californias*, Tomo XLVI, fo. 192, AGN, accompanied by a signed resumé by Fages dated February 4, 1792.
73. Palou, *Vida*, 243. Most historians accept the account of the founding of the city given by Thomas Workman Temple II in HSSC *Annual*, XV, part I (1931):90, 96-98.
74. *Cuentas* no. 70, fo. 169-71, no. 71, fo. 173-74, no. 72, fo. 175-76, no. 73, fo. 177-78, no. 74, fo. 179-80, no. 75, fo. 181-82, *Provincias Internas*, Tomo, 199, AGN.
75. *Cuenta* 68, Tomo 199, fo. 167-68.
76. Wagner, *The Earliest Documents of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1931), pp. 3-4.
77. Croix to Gálvez, February 28, 1782, *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, legajo 103-4-9, *Archivo General de Indias*, microfilm Roll IV, reel 899, Bancroft Library. The letter is number 4518 in Charles E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 551.
78. C-A 52, Tomo I, fo. 101-02. J. J. Warner's slightly variant copy of this document is reprinted in *La Cronica* (Los Angeles), May 18, 1872, p. 2. I am indebted to Donald Chaput for calling my attention to this newspaper article.
79. C-A 22, Tomo II, fo. 306-07.
80. Neve to Fages, "Ynstruccion reservada que dejó el Brigadier Don Felipe Neve a su subesor en el Gobierno de Californias Dn Pedro de Fages," September 7, 1782; a copy prepared in 1792 is in the Bancroft Library. A somewhat misleading translation of the section in question appears in Beilharz, *Felipe de Neve*, 165.
81. José Francisco de Ortega, "Extracto de la Revista," C-A 52, Tomo I, fo. 104-05.
82. Bancroft, *History of California*, I:312, 348-49; Palou, *Vida*, 225; Palou, *Noticias*, IV:204.
83. Palou, *Vida*, p. 243. Maynard Geiger offers a concise and reasoned explanation of the meaning of the phrase "a ultimos del año" in Palou's *Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, 459, n15.

Twelve-term Congressman Julius Kahn ranks as one of the most prominent national legislators in California's history. Well-liked and respected by his colleagues, undefeatably popular with his San Francisco constituents, and an orator of inimitable style, Kahn served in the House of Representatives for more than two decades after abandoning a successful dramatic acting career at age thirty. On most issues a partisan Republican, Kahn gained national prestige as author of the first Selective Service Act and as chief supporter of Democratic President Wilson's war policies. It is unlikely that a man of lesser integrity, political skill, personality, and sensitivity to his constituency could have walked the same political path.

Born to Jewish parents in 1861, Kahn emigrated with his mother to the United States from Baden, Germany, when he was seven. They joined Julius' father, a farmer, who had settled in Calaveras County, California, in 1865. The family moved several times and finally settled in San Francisco where they ran a bakery and restaurant while Julius attended high school. One of Kahn's teachers was Mary Prag, the city's first Jewish school teacher—and mother of Florence Prag who became Julius' wife in 1899. Throughout his boyhood, Kahn rose early each morning to make deliveries with his father's bread wagon, and he frequently appeared in Mrs. Prag's classes drowsy from lack of sleep.¹

Striking out on his own at the age of sixteen, Kahn began a business career as a clerk in a commission house, but two years later he quit—to go upon the stage. He traveled extensively throughout the country, playing supporting roles with such famous actors as Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Clara Morris, and Tommaso Salvini.² Kahn's theatrical career took him to many cities, but it was his trips to Washington, D.C., which impressed him most. While in the nation's capital he became friendly with members of Congress, in part

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Kahn

through his visits with the sergeant-at-arms of the House, who introduced him to many congressmen.³

Nearly thirty years old, Kahn left the stage in 1890 and took up the study of law. Asked years later why he abandoned a successful theatrical career to enter the field of law, Kahn replied that in theater, "the older you grow and the more experience you acquire, . . . you are commensurately less useful. In the legal profession as you grow older and acquire experience, the more valuable your legal services become."⁴ The stage left its marks on him, however, and throughout his long years in Congress, a long flowing necktie and a studied and effective elocution recalled his first career in the theater.

While still a student of the law, Kahn was elected to the state assembly in 1892. He was the only Republican chosen from San Francisco out of twenty-three candidates nominated to serve in the state legislature. After one term, however, he declined nomination for the state senate, preferring, he said, to continue his law practice. He enjoyed his single term in the assembly, however, and often boasted that he was one of very few legislators to escape attack of any kind by a California newspaper.⁵

Declining public office for several years, Kahn played prominent roles in civic and promotional activities, such as the Midwinter Fair, until in 1898 he was nominated and elected to the United States Congress from California's Fourth District, the eastern third of present-day San Francisco. (Kahn resided at 2712 Webster Street throughout his entire congressional career.) Re-elected in 1900, he was defeated for re-election in 1902, then re-elected in 1904 and continuously until his death in 1924. Kahn served twelve terms in all, a longer period

of California

than any other representative from the Pacific Coast states until that time. So popular was he that during his last five terms in Congress, he had little or no opposition and received the endorsement of all the major political parties in California.

Throughout his entire career, Kahn received the backing and support of his good friend, Jacob Voor-sanger, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El and publisher of its newspaper. When Kahn ran his first congressional race, Rabbi Voor-sanger called attention to Kahn's record in the California legislature and described his parliamentary and forensic ability, his integrity, and his record. "We are proud," concluded the rabbi, "of his record. Julius Kahn in Congress will be the first Hebrew elected from the west of the Rocky Mountains, and . . . he will be a most worthy and able representative of the people of California."⁶

Representative Kahn's first congressional stand eliciting national attention was prompted in 1902 by House debates on the question of providing administration for the civil affairs of the Philippine Islands. The freshman congressman, who had visited the islands the year previously, presented his views on the strategic value of the islands to the United States and eloquently persuaded Congress that the islands would as yet be "more than content to be under the American flag."⁷

During the debates Kahn also gained acquaintance with William Howard Taft, then governor of the islands, and when Taft ran for president in 1908, Kahn earnestly supported him against William Jennings Bryan. Elated

by Taft's victory, Kahn boasted that San Francisco had given the Republican victor a 12,000-vote majority and the state of California more than 75,000 votes. "It was a glorious victory," wrote Kahn to Taft.⁸

Throughout Taft's administration (1908-1913), Kahn displayed an exceptional ability to secure legislation favorable to San Francisco and the State of California. Two notable successes involved securing San Francisco as the site of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to be held in 1915 and preventing the closing of the San Francisco Mint. Both of these issues related to completion of the Panama Canal, the sensitive issue that demanded much of Kahn's attention through Taft's presidency well and into Wilson's administration.

In April, 1904, a group of San Francisco civic leaders had formed the Merchants Association and drafted a resolution urging that the completion of the Panama Canal within the next decade be celebrated by a "Pacific Ocean Exposition" at San Francisco. The association had wired their new congressman, Kahn, a request to introduce a bill appropriating \$5 million for an exposition in their city.⁹ When on April 18, 1906, the disastrous earthquake and fire struck San Francisco, however, records were destroyed and existing arrangements disarrayed, and there seemed no time for celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal.

Kahn, however, did not abandon the idea of holding an exposition. Just one month after the earthquake, Kahn introduced a joint resolution requesting the nations of the world to participate in an exposition at San Francisco in 1915 to commemorate the discovery of the Pacific and the opening of the canal. The event was to

take place whenever the president was satisfied that there was \$5 million worth of subscriptions to finance such a celebration.

When New Orleans began to vie with San Francisco for the exposition, Kahn simply worked harder on behalf of San Francisco. In a stirring House speech, which was repeatedly interrupted by loud applause, Kahn described the valiant efforts his city had made to rebuild itself after the devastating disaster four years earlier. He further predicted that San Francisco would raise the money needed to hold the exposition and concluded with a stirring plea for support.¹⁰

Kahn's background of studied elocution and oratory must have served him well in that speech, because eventually the decision was made to hold the exposition in San Francisco. The *San Francisco Call*, on February 2, 1911, credited Kahn's efforts in making that possible: "Representative Kahn deserves well of his constituency and all his townsmen. On him fell the burden and his was the heat of the day in the fight before Congress for the World's Fair. . . . It is justice to say that to Mr. Kahn more than any other single influence is due the success of San Francisco in the winning fight before the House of Representatives. . . ." ¹¹

Always attentive to the needs of his constituents, Kahn soon again took to the House floor on San Francisco's behalf. In 1912 the closing of the mint at San Francisco was imminent, and in a House speech Kahn eloquently reminded his colleagues that the mint at San Francisco had furnished practically all of the coin used by the people of the Pacific Coast. It was a self-supporting operation, he continued, which cost the American government nothing to maintain. Predicting that with the completion of the Panama Canal the amounts of foreign bullion and coin arriving at San Francisco would increase considerably, Kahn questioned the rationale for the Treasury Department to close the mint. Emphasizing that the cost of transporting bullion to Denver would be prohibitive, Kahn argued persuasively for the

need for mints in both cities.¹² That the San Francisco mint did indeed remain open was, in part, thanks to the efforts of Julius Kahn.

Prominent and vigilant on matters of local interest, Kahn also involved himself with issues of national concern. In 1911 Congress debated the question of requiring candidates for national office to publicize their campaign contributions and expenditures. Kahn favored this publicizing, but he felt that the measure did not go far enough. Instead, he advocated extension of the proposal with a clause which would compel the filing of accounts in all primaries as well as in the general election. Many Democrats opposed the measure because they were engaged in more primary elections than Republicans. Kahn's partisan rhetoric won out, however, and the primaries clause was inserted in the final bill. Kahn is credited for being the first member of Congress to direct attention to the necessity of extending provisions of the law compelling publication of all campaign expenses, regardless of the nature of the elections.¹³

At one with the Taft administration, prior to World War I Kahn frequently found himself in opposition to President Wilson's administration, and the question of shipping tolls for the Panama Canal was no exception. When the canal first opened in 1914, Congress had enacted a law providing free tolls for American ships, a clause Kahn favored with an eye to its importance for California's shipping interests. When Wilson became president, however, he and his advisers in the State Department advocated the repeal of these free tolls, a measure which Kahn opposed as vigorously as he had supported the original proposal of free tolls. If Wilson's policies were followed, Kahn predicted, America would become a simple caretaker government, a mere guardian of the canal. Kahn further argued that the United States was being asked to buy England's friend-

ship so that England would support America in its foreign policy.¹⁴ In his final plea on the Panama tolls question, Kahn reflected, "Friendship thus bought is never worth the cost, for it is never lasting. . . . The real effect of this policy will arise in additional demands. There shall be no fortification of the canal will be the next command."¹⁵ In the end, a disappointed Kahn was unsuccessful in preventing Congress from following Wilson's lead on this issue.

Kahn was even more critical of the president's handling of problems in Mexico. Prior to 1910, Mexico had been ruled by an able but iron-handed dictator, Porfirio Díaz, who enjoyed the backing of the church, the army, and most large landholders. During that period American (including Californian) investments in Mexico amounted to about a billion dollars, with England controlling the bulk of European investments. In 1910 Francisco Madero, supported by the peasantry and a small group of middle-class merchants, broke Díaz's power and became president. Three years later, however, a counter-revolution brought Victoriano Huerta to the presidency. Henry Lane Wilson, American ambassador to Mexico, urged President Taft to recognize the Huerta government, as the major European powers had already done. Taft, however, refused to act during his last few weeks in office and turned the entire problem over to his successor, Woodrow Wilson.

Precedents existed for the United States to recognize the Huerta regime. In the past it had given recognition to many governments irrespective of how they had come to power. In addition, the Huerta government seemed capable of restoring order and thus protecting American lives and property. Deeply concerned that the matter not become a political issue, Kahn urged the Wilson administration to formulate the awaited American policy quickly and advocated a concert of American governments—including the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—to bring about a settlement of the Mexican problem.¹⁶



Julius Kahn of San Francisco, actor turned congressman and defender of military preparedness

But Woodrow Wilson soon made it evident that he was utterly opposed to Huerta and his despotic ways. Shocked by the violent manner in which Huerta had come to power, Wilson felt he was an enemy of the Mexican people. On March 11, 1913, in Mobile, Alabama, Wilson publicly stated that he had no sympathy with Huerta or his regime, called for an armistice among all warring factions in Mexico, and advocated a free election in which all candidates, except Huerta, should enter. The winner of the election would be declared president and accorded recognition by Wilson.

When this plan failed, Wilson announced that the United States policy towards Mexico would be one of "watchful waiting," a policy which was criticized both at home and abroad for its refusal to recognize Huerta. Convinced that Huerta could not be replaced without armed intervention by the United States, Wilson secured from Congress permission to send troops to Mexico. Congress acquiesced only after an incident arose over the arrest of a group of American sailors at Tampico.

An irate Kahn criticized Wilson and accused the president of meddling in the internal affairs of a nation. He argued that the United States had no right to interfere and opposed armed intervention. He termed Wilson's policy "deadly drifting" and stated, "I do not want to see armed intervention. We have intervened politically already, and in my humble judgment it was a mistake to have done so. It is going to prove most expensive."¹⁷ Kahn once more called for the ABC nations of South America to bring order in Mexico.

As war loomed in Europe, Wilson changed tactics and gratefully accepted the mediation offer of the three South American nations as a means of gaining time and forestalling the insistent demands of some Americans for a war with Mexico. In the summer of 1914 Huerta was finally forced from office, and the following month the favorite candidate of the United States, Venustiano Carranza, took over the presidency.

On domestic as well as foreign policy Kahn frequently took stands of partisan loyalty against Wilson and his administration. When the president proposed the creation of a series of sectional banks held together only by a Federal Reserve Board, the bankers of the country expressed extreme suspicion, and the fact that Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan openly supported the measure aroused even more fears.

The act, known as the Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act, was opposed by Kahn for just that reason. In a House speech he warned his colleagues: "I am doubtful of the success of the bill . . . for it has the unqualified approval of our good friend, the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan. I have learned by past experiences that whenever Mr. Bryan puts his stamp on our proposed legislation, you want to scrutinize it with more than ordinary care." Despite these objections, the act passed and was signed by President Wilson. Reflecting his economic concern, Kahn commented upon its passage: "There are grave dangers from inflation under this bill, and inflation means ruin."¹⁸

Kahn's positions on issues usually reflected the interests of California and his party, but throughout his career where military preparedness was concerned he voted his personal convictions. Kahn served for most of his congressional career on the Military Affairs Committee, eventually becoming its ranking member, and, when his party controlled the House, its chairman. In this capacity he helped found the National Defense League in 1913. The league was created to conduct a nation-wide campaign to further its objectives: enlarging the navy, making adequate the army, improving the national guard, and generally preparing the United States for national defense.¹⁹ The league successfully inserted in the 1914 army appropriations bill a clause—which was first introduced in the House as a separate bill



Kahn won the Panama-Pacific Exposition for San Francisco. Witnessing President Taft's signing of the resolution in 1911 naming San Francisco over New Orleans as the site of the fair were (left to right): Kahn, Joseph R. Knowland, Senator Frank P. Flint, Senator George C. Perkins, and other luminaries.

by Julius Kahn—permitting the War Department to distribute free of cost to civilian rifle clubs and schools 313,000 Krag-Jorgensen rifles and ammunition. The National Association for the Promotion of Rifle Practice had lobbied for this legislation for years, and as a result of Kahn's efforts any ten civilians could organize a rifle club and secure free rifles and ammunition from the government for target practice.²⁰

Convinced that the country was unprepared for an emergency, Kahn labored against heavy opposition to impress the Military Affairs Committee with the needs of planning for the emergency which might arise. "The present European War," he told the House, "ought to prove a lesson to the people of the United States. It is an apt illustration of the suddenness with which war comes. It should teach us that we must be prepared for any and every possible emergency."²¹

When Congress debated the issue of national defense, Kahn spoke out once more for preparedness, calling the declaration of war in Europe a "thunderbolt out of a clear sky." Although he did not foresee American involvement in the World War, he recalled a discussion in his committee over the question of preparedness in which one member stated that should any nation invade America, the country would "sweep them into the Pacific with a broom." Kahn remarked, "Well, we will find out that any nation that picks a quarrel with us and goes to war with us will not be fighting us with brooms. We will have to meet them with the same kind of weapons that they have, and if possible, better ones."²²

Several months later, in March, 1916, Kahn made a stirring speech in the House urging the country to expand its defenses. He called for an increase in the army to 220,000 men and brought into the House chamber British recruiting posters to illustrate the difficulty of obtaining men for the army. Kahn predicted to his colleagues that the United States, like England, would have to resort to conscription in the event of war. "No nation," warned Kahn, "is the sole arbiter of its own

destiny. We may not want to fight, we may utterly oppose a war, but if some nation should feel that the nation's honor could only be assuaged by a resort to the use of arms, we would have to defend ourselves. In order to defend ourselves, we must in time of peace prepare against war."²³ Largely as a result of Kahn's efforts, early in June, 1916, Congress passed the National Defense Act authorizing the increase of the standing army to 175,000 and the national guard to 450,000.²⁴

In one of those ironic twists of political fate, the two men who had fought on opposite sides of many partisan issues now found themselves on the same side. While Kahn had been fighting the battle for American preparedness, President Wilson had remained silent. Then, after Germany continued her policy of unlimited submarine warfare and Colonel House, Wilson's unofficial ambassador, again failed in a peace mission in Europe, Wilson moved to demand military preparedness, even though pacifist protests had swept much of the nation. He toured the nation to speak for preparedness, and on Flag Day, June 14, 1916, led a preparedness parade down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Less than a year later the United States plunged into war. For the first time in the nation's history, American soldiers crossed the ocean to fight in an international struggle, and Kahn became even more deeply concerned about the lack of training and experience of America's fighting forces. Believing that all men should receive one year's training prior to going to Europe, he bemoaned to his fellow House members, "It would be butchery to send untrained men abroad. It would be impossible to find enough officers to train American soldiers in the details of modern trench warfare. This country is unprepared for a great emergency."²⁵

To meet the emergency and crisis facing America, Kahn began advocating conscription. In the beginning he faced seemingly insurmountable opposition. Some of the more radical southern congressmen professed to oppose conscription because of its encroachment upon

Kahn's House colleagues did not fail to note the irony of a Republican leading the Democratic administration's fight for a measure that the president's own party opposed.

white supremacy in the South; many expressed fear that large numbers of Black soldiers trained in the handling of firearms would return to the South at the conclusion of the war and cause trouble. Kahn retorted that the black soldiers would be taught obedience and respect for the law and would not be a disturbing force after their return.²⁶

Throughout 1917 Kahn met often with Secretary of War Newton D. Baker concerning a conscription act. He busily anticipated the arguments the administration might use in advancing its cause and fortified himself with data concerning England's unfortunate experiment with the volunteer system. In an unusually well-attended House session in April, 1917, Kahn called a volunteer army unjust and undemocratic because it "permits the shirker to remain at home" while the volunteer sacrifices his life. He also praised obligatory universal service for forcing citizens to bear equal burdens. "It is the duty of the individual in a republic like ours," he concluded, "to respond to the colors whenever the nation decrees that he is needed."²⁷

Kahn's efforts in behalf of the selective service system received much national coverage. Kahn's House colleagues did not fail to note the irony of a Republican leading the administration's fight for a measure that the president's own party opposed. (Wilson had been forced to turn to Kahn when the Speaker of the House, floor leader, and chairman of the Military Affairs Committee refused to support him.) The *New York Times*, however, noted that at last the nation had been treated to real

leadership in Congress and labeled Kahn's leadership the "old-fashioned kind": clean, workmanlike, and without loose strings. It assessed Kahn's efforts as well-executed and carried through with force and skill by a leader who spoke and acted with conviction and determination.²⁸

In May, 1917, the Selective Service Act, known informally as "the Kahn amendment," was finally passed. It required all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty to register for military services. Registrants were divided into five classes by local civilian boards, and those placed in Class One—able-bodied, unmarried men without dependents—would be the first to be drafted.²⁹

The Selective Service Act became the outstanding piece of legislation with which Kahn's name was identified. *Outlook* magazine's editorial tribute to Kahn concluded: "The passage of the Selective Service Act marks a turning point in the military history of this country, and its power in bringing in military service under a practical and just system cannot be exaggerated."³⁰ One of Kahn's House colleagues summarized the California legislator's efforts in the passage of the act: "The Selective Draft Act was more the work of Julius Kahn than of any other man. . . . At each reverse Julius Kahn struck back stronger and with more convincing proof . . . and thus the national policy would be shaped."³¹

Even after the Selective Service Act had been passed, Kahn continued to press for strong prosecution of the war and the assurance that every physically capable American should perform military service. In a letter to Lt. General S.B.M. Young (Ret.), president of the National Association for Universal Military Training, Kahn urged a bill for universal military training as a natural corollary to the selective draft legislation. "It is most appalling," wrote Kahn, "that sixty percent of our boys are physically unfit for military service. Universal training would materially remedy this condition. Under such a system our boys would be taught hygiene and

sanitation, among other things. The system would develop a more robust, a more physically fit body of citizens."³²

As the war continued, Kahn came to attack vigorously dissenters and opponents of the war. Speaking at Columbia University, Kahn urged that fomenters of disloyalty be "taken before a court martial under military law and if convicted, punished in the way his crime implies."³³ In another letter to General Young, he continued: "Those who are not with us in this conflict are against us. They should be deterred from their treasonable course. This is no time to listen to the vaporings of pusillanimous pacifists or disloyal pro-Germans."³⁴

Soon after the Allied victory in November, 1918, Kahn announced his support of a luxury tax as a means of paying for the war. Kahn told the House: "Our people must not imagine that the war is quite over until its cost has been figured out. It will take the sustained patriotism of us all to bear cheerfully the burden of war taxation."³⁵

Kahn made it clear, however, that he preferred the luxury tax on items including liquor rather than federal prohibition, a measure also being debated at the conclusion of the war. Prohibition laws, Kahn believed, created sneaks, liars, and hypocrites. "Personally," he wrote, "I believe in temperance. . . . I am absolutely opposed to the Volstead Act. . . . It will lead to contempt for all laws."³⁶

In the spring of 1919 Kahn scheduled a visit to Europe at the invitation of General Pershing to study military conditions and interview military men with a view to the formulation of new military policy in Congress. Before his departure a leading opponent of the Jewish state in Palestine, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz of Philadelphia, sent Kahn a petition opposing Zionism signed by over 150 prominent American Jews.³⁷ Berko-

"The American people cannot undertake the chaperonage of the world's bad disposition."

witz requested that the congressman present it to President Wilson at Versailles. Kahn, who also believed that the mission of the Jewish people was religious rather than political, wired the rabbi that he had received the communique but that his priorities were "to observe conditions in military matters in anticipation of preparing myself for the work in the coming session of Congress."³⁸

To Kahn's regret, in the spring of 1919—a time of crucial peace negotiations—he once again found himself at odds with President Wilson who favored an independent Jewish state. In an interview with the *New York Times*, he pointedly remarked, "My principal objection to it is . . . the fact that non-Jews will begin to look upon the American Jew as having a lurking desire always to return to the so-called Jewish homeland—that the Jews will be accused by the non-Jew of being merely a sojourner in the United States."³⁹

Spending most of the summer of 1919 in Europe, Kahn became convinced that the conference would not be able to bring lasting peace. As a result, he urged America to retain a military machine to protect her interests. "I do not wish to say anything to hamper the president in his work," commented Kahn, "but I believe the American people cannot undertake the chaperonage of the world's bad disposition. We are getting into deep water by attempting it." Skeptical about the workings of the League of Nations, he stated that "if it works out to letting us watch our hemisphere, it may be all right, but the Americans will never ratify any pact under which we are bound to ship soldiers to Europe to settle the little or big wars which will come. This is idealism rampant."⁴⁰

When Wilson advocated that England and the United States pledge themselves to aid France in the event of German attack, Kahn remarked pointedly: "If the League of Nations is to preserve the peace of the world, why the necessity for additional alliances with France and England?"⁴¹

Upon his return to the United States, Kahn continued his fight for universal military training. Appalled to find so many opponents of his plan in Congress, he ventured that had there been universal military training in America, there might not have been a world war in 1914. Although religious organizations, portions of the labor movement, and rural America opposed such training, Kahn nevertheless concluded, "I feel that if we adopt such a plan I predict that we shall have less danger of war than if we had a League of Nations."⁴² Ultimately unsuccessful in his efforts to secure universal military training, Kahn, however, was associated with the development of the National Defense Act of 1920, which reorganized the entire military establishment and gave greater flexibility to the organization of the army.⁴³

As the 1920 presidential election neared, Kahn announced that he would actively campaign for the Harding-Coolidge ticket against the pro-League Democratic slate. Able to invest his time because he was unopposed in his own congressional race, he confidently predicted that California would carry a majority of over 200,000 votes for the Republicans. Throughout the campaign Kahn stressed that "the businessman and the working men of California" did not want the League of Nations or its representative, the Democratic nominee.⁴⁴

Representing a district in California, Kahn naturally became involved in the question of Oriental immigration and naturalization. As early as 1907, Kahn had written an article dealing with the Japanese question from the standpoint of California. With the racism common to the day he concluded that it was unanimous sentiment in California not to naturalize the Japanese.

"The oath of naturalization to the Japanese," claimed Kahn, "would be but a hollow mockery, an empty formality signifying nothing. We do not want that kind of citizenship, and we do not intend to have it, if we can prevent it."⁴⁵

When the Oriental question arose again in Congress in 1920, Kahn spoke out once more in opposition to Japanese immigration and naturalization. He told the House that "many public officials in Japan, as well as political agitators here have tried to make the world believe that opposition to the immigration of Japanese laborers was based upon racial prejudices. We of the Pacific Coast deny that this is the case. . . . The sole objection is to the laboring class."⁴⁶

Kahn's final congressional effort concerned the question of Muscle Shoals. During the war the government had constructed two nitrate plants for the manufacture of explosives at Muscle Shoals, Alabama; it had also begun the construction of dams to provide them with power. After the war the nitrate factories were no longer used, and the uncompleted power plants were being operated by the Army Corps of Engineers to generate power for sale to local corporations. President Harding proposed to transfer the entire enterprise, both the nitrate and power plants, to private operators on very favorable terms. In July, 1921, Henry Ford proposed to take over the projects and submitted a bid to this effect.

Kahn favored a proposal that Congress create a "Muscle Shoals Commission to adjust the legal difficulties involved in disposition of the government's war-built properties. Here he clashed with George Norris, a fellow but progressive Republican, who favored a government-owned and government-controlled corporation taking over the entire project. Displaying his philosophical opposition to big government, Kahn objected, "I for one am strongly against the Government operating any project that can be run by private enterprises."⁴⁷

SAN FRANCISCO'S PREPAREDNESS PARADE SATURDAY JULY 22

"SPIRIT OF 1916"



A pre-War poster promoted the "Spirit of 1916," preparedness for military action.

ROOM
418

CITIZENS HEADQUARTERS 742 MARKET ST.

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In retrospect, Julius Kahn was a politically astute, partisan Republican who supported his party's stand in Congress, with a few notable exceptions, and the Republican presidents under whom he served—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge. His position on publicizing campaign contributions and expenditures and his advocacy of free tolls in Panama and civil relations with Mexico reflect party loyalty as well as personal commitments. On matters directly affecting California and the city of San Francisco—the international exposition, retaining the San Francisco mint, opposing Japanese immigration, and continuing healthy trade through a tolless Panama Canal—Kahn voted the wishes of his constituents.

Two outstanding exceptions to Kahn's party and local loyalty emerged in his congressional career. When Congress passed laws requiring literacy tests of emigrants, laws designed to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe, the entire California delegation with the exception of Kahn voted for the bills and to override Wilson's vetoes. Because many of the immigrants affected were Russian and eastern European Jews, Kahn voted with the other Jews in Congress against these bills and to sustain Wilson's vetoes.

Kahn's second and most notable break with party loyalty surfaced around the issues of armament and the draft. Kahn would never have sponsored the proposals of a Democratic president, but so strongly did he favor

military preparedness before, during, and after World War I, that he led the fight for a president who had been deserted by his own legislative leaders.

After twenty-four years on Capitol Hill, Kahn fell ill in December, 1922, and early in 1923 he returned to California to rest. On December 19, 1924, after an extended illness, Julius Kahn died of a cerebral hemorrhage. He was survived by his widow Florence and two sons. Warm tributes from President Coolidge, lifelong friend and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, and legislative colleagues praised Kahn's devotion and services to his country, particularly during the war.⁴³

Photographs from the collection of the CHS Library.

Notes

1. *San Francisco Call & Post*, December 18, 1924, p. 2.
2. Brief biographical sketches of Kahn appear in Leigh H. Irvine, *History of the New California* (New York, 1905), 373-375; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 288; *National Cyclopaedia*, XXII: 40.
3. *Emanu El*, January 12, 1900, IX, #9, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1898, VI, #17, p. 5.
7. Harr Wagner, *Notable Speeches by Notable Speakers of the Greater West* (San Francisco, 1902), 408.
8. Kahn to Taft, November 5, 1908, William H. Taft Papers, Library of Congress.
9. Frank M. Todd, *The Story of the Exposition* (New York & London: Knickerbocker Press, 1921), p. 39.
10. *Congressional Record*, April 18, 1910, 61 Congress, 2 Session, 4926.
11. *San Francisco, Its Builders Past and Present* (1913), p. 8.
12. *Congressional Record*, May 9, 1912, 62 Congress, 2 Session, 6171-72.
13. *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, December 19, 1924, p. 33; *Congressional Record*, April 14, 1911, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 252.
14. *Congressional Record*, March 17, 1914, 63 Congress, 2 Session, 5012-15.
15. *New York Times*, March 18, 1914, p. 6.
16. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1914, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1913, II, p. 8; December 23, 1913, p. 2.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Manual & Review of National Defense League* (1917), p. 6.
20. *Ibid.*, 8; *New York Times*, January 12, 1914, p. 6.
21. *National Defense League Manual*, 8.
22. *Congressional Record*, January 24, 1915, 63 Congress, 3 Session, 2077.
23. *New York Times*, March 19, 1916, I, p. 1; *Congressional Record*, March 18, 1916, 64 Congress, 1 Session, 4404.
24. John D. Hicks, and George E. Mowry, *A Short History of American Democracy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956), p. 643.
25. *New York Times*, April 5, 1917, p. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1917, p. 5.
27. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1917, p. 2.
28. *New York Times*, April 30, 1917, p. 2.
29. Hicks and Mowry, *Short History*, 651.
30. *Outlook*, December 31, 1924, p. 708.
31. Harry Schneiderman, ed., "Julius Kahn," *American Jewish Yearbook*, 27:240, 1925.
32. Kahn to Young, November 17, 1917, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Truman Library.
33. *New York Times*, December 30, 1917, p. 4.
34. Kahn to Young, November 17, 1917.
35. *New York Times*, January 22, 1919, p. 5.
36. *Literary Digest*, November 4, 1922, p. 9.
37. Rabbi Henry Berkowitz to Julius Kahn, February 28, 1919, Henry Berkowitz Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
38. Kahn to Berkowitz, March 8, 1919.
39. *New York Times*, February 6, 1919, p. 24.
40. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1919, p. 1.
41. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1919, p. 20.
42. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1920, p. 14.
43. *Congressional Record*, March 9, 1920, 66 Congress, 2 Session, 4098-99.
44. *New York Times*, September 27, 1920, p. 2.
45. Julius Kahn, "The Japanese Question From A Californian Standpoint," *Independent*, January 3, 1907, pp. 32-33.
46. *New York Times*, December 10, 1920, p. 17; *Congressional Record*, December 9, 1920, 66 Congress, 3 Session, pp. 123-127.
47. *New York Times*, March 12, 1922, p. 22.
48. *New York Times*, December 20, 1924, p. 15; Herbert Hoover to Mrs. Julius Kahn, December 19, 1924, Herbert Hoover Papers, Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa; Carl Vinson to Author, October 11, 1972.

Shortly after Kahn's death, the Republican party urged Mrs. Kahn to seek her late husband's congressional seat. She was elected in 1925 and served until 1927, the first Jewish woman representative in Congress.

MANHOLE COVERS



A rare compass-rose pattern, designed in 1938, decorated a Los Angeles coal chute cover near a federal building until 1956.

artifacts in the streets

They lie on the ground unnoticed—embellished and gleaming, but worn. They suffer daily punishment from vehicular traffic. Victimized by weather and jackhammers, they are ceaselessly littered by pedestrians, derelicts, and dogs. Few passers-by notice them because they are mundane elements in the environment. They are manhole covers.

A vast unheeded repository of industrial art, the assorted metal lids embedded in our city pavements await discovery as veritable treasures of urban history. These lids, though usually relegated to the position of mere street hardware, reflect a distinct aspect of our cultural milieu, a singular body of design that is not apt to appear in the same manner again.

Designed by anonymous engineers and foundrymen, manhole covers exhibit a surprising multitude of patterns. Surfaces dance in countless unique formations of incised lines; they bristle with knobs and ridges and churn with clusters of circles, crosses, and stars.

While the lids—particularly the older ones which reflect bygone aesthetic fashions—display distinc-

tive patterns, their designs transcend the picturesque. Beyond decorative appeal, the covers offer fascinating historic revelations. Their logos and insignias provide a register of names and places prominent in our urban past. The inscriptions stamped amidst the swirls and spirals on the antique lids recall the obsolete business firms, extinct foundries, and vanished utility companies that once flourished in the cities that were. Tracing the company names illuminates milestones in early utility services and foundry practices and, possibly, identifies the age of the manhole covers, as well.

Establishing the exact date of a manhole cover is difficult. Diligent research frequently unearths only scant material from files and records. Many old drawings from city utility companies have been destroyed, and old foundry catalogues are virtually non-existent. Only occasionally do covers cast in the last century yield patent dates and only in a rare instance do they include the dates of their installation. A lucky day of research in the department of public works may produce an ancient sub-structure map with hole locations and year of origin, but these breakthroughs are uncommon. Usually a cover's date can only be approximated, either by checking the life-span of the foundry or utility named on the lid itself or by tracing the year the tract containing the cover was completed.

A manhole cover's most distinctive feature is its surface pattern. Occasional manufacturer's specifications remaining in city files indicate that the majority of today's surface patterns originated in the first decade of the twentieth century. Most of the familiar designs—waffle, hexagonal,¹ and radial²—have been in use since the early 1900's. Over the years, the covers have been redesigned and brought up to current standards of manufacture, but the surface patterns have remained similar to those of the early twentieth century.

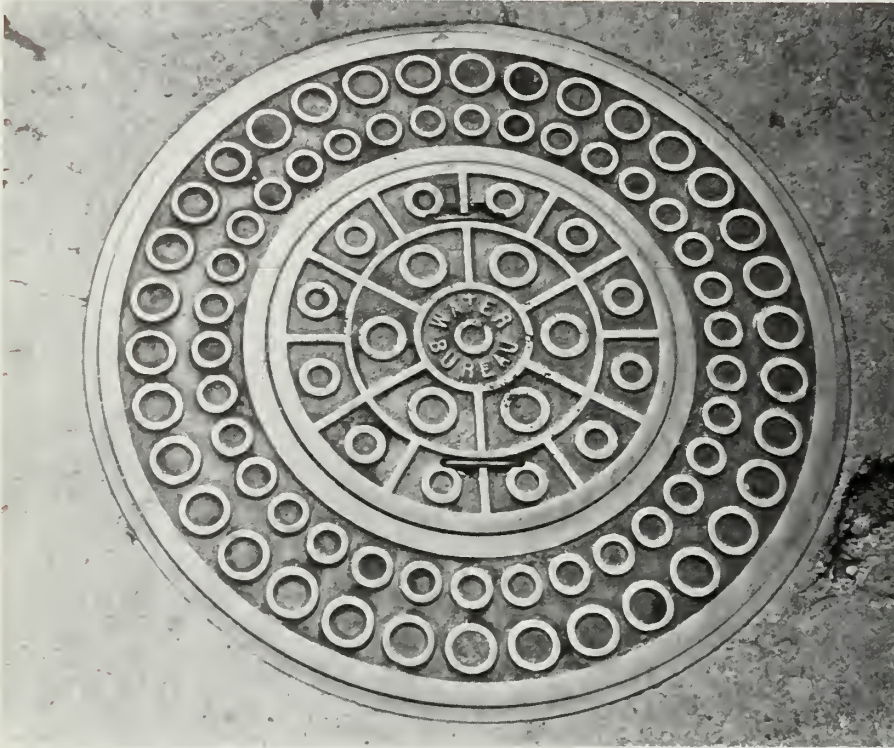
Whatever its appearance, the surface pattern's prime function was to provide a non-skid surface for traffic crossing over it. Because the majority of cover patterns emerged during the horse-and-buggy era, the covers' knobs, indentations, and incised lines were placed to furnish safe footing for horses' hooves and good traction for buggy wheels. A book published in 1914 entitled *American Sewerage Practice* discusses the need for non-skid surface patterns on manhole covers:

The practice of making the covers rather deep and having a pocket in their top, in which asphalt or wood blocks is placed, once much favored, is now regarded with much less favor by city engineers, who are recommending instead a cast iron cover with the surface broken by a shallow pattern of some sort which will give resistance to slipping when horses step on the castings.³

Mrs. and Mr. Melnick have written a complete study of the history of *The Manhole Covers of Los Angeles* (1974). Their manhole photographs will be reproduced in the United States Information Agency's magazine, *America*, for distribution in the Soviet Union.

Mrs. Melnick is a research assistant of Folklore at the University of California, Los Angeles, and Mr. Melnick is a photographer.

A circled Los Angeles manhole lid with doughnut covers large water valves or pumps. Forged between 1911 and 1929, the entire unit weighs nearly 1000 pounds.



Engineers also considered pedestrian traffic in cover design. Sidewalk covers, which allowed basement ventilation⁴ and sub-street access, had to be geometrically incised with a skid-proof tread that would not ensnare the shoe heels of people walking by. (In recent years, sidewalk vents and tree-well covers have been completely redesigned with especially small openings in deference to the narrow spike-heels which entered ladies' fashion in the 1960's. With today's increase in bike riding, changes have also been made in storm-drain gratings to prevent bicycle tires from catching in the slots.)

Originally, cover-surface configurations were diversified for purposes of identification. Each public agency and private concern took a characteristic cover. Hexagonal patterns, for example, belonged to telephone companies, and waffle-patterned lids usually lay over sewer openings. In Los Angeles, concentric circles designated gas lids, while basket-weave surfaces signified electric facilities.

Studies of metropolitan utility services make no mention of the date that manholes first appeared in California cities. However, a 1914 report observed:

Although manholes are now among the most familiar features of sewerage systems, they were not used extensively until sometime after many large sewers had been constructed. They were intro-

A six-pointed star individualized this Coast Counties Gas & Electric Company's handhole valve cover in Santa Cruz.

duced to facilitate the removal of grit and silt which had collected in the inverts of sewers having a low velocity of flow. Before that time, when a sewer became so badly clogged that it had to be cleaned, it was customary to dig down to the sewer, break through its walls, remove the obstruction and then close the sewer again, ready to cause the same trouble at a later date. The opposition to manholes seems to have been due to a fear of sewer air escaping from them.⁵

Underground systems needed to attain some degree of sophistication, then, before manholes as we know them—covered with metal lids and encasing subsurface facilities—would have been installed.⁶ Historic covers in Los Angeles date no earlier than the 1880's,⁷ the time of that city's first great expansion and population boom. In contrast, lids in San Francisco, Stockton, and Sacramento hark back to the 1860's and 1870's, reflecting the cities' earlier settlement and development.

The names stamped on old manhole covers comprise a unique register of foundries and utility companies active in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prominent foundries such as Baker Iron Works (Los Angeles), Llewellyn Iron Works (Los Angeles), Stockton Iron Works (Stockton), and Globe Iron Works (Stockton) produced lids in the last century,⁸ and their names survive for the record through their historic covers.

The list of early foundries is con-

A beautiful spiraled fuel-oil cover with contrasting ring was manufactured by Baker Iron Works for a Los Angeles plumbing supply firm in business from the 1890's to 1933. The cover and its mate have been destroyed.



This ventilated sewer cover lid is used by the San Francisco Department of Power and Water.

Surfaced with a turn-of-the-century basket-weave tread, square-form Western Union covers in Los Angeles were discontinued because they frequently fell into their holes.



Early sewers were periodically flushed. The large rectangular cover over the flushing device in this Stockton sewer was manufactured by the Stockton Iron Works. An 1889 patent date and the names of the foundry's proprietors appear on the frame.

siderably longer than any list made today would be. Formerly, cities and most larger towns had one or more foundries, and each company manufactured covers for its own locale. With the advent of the twentieth century came the trend toward wider distribution from fewer manufacturers, and some older foundries closed their doors. Reduction occurred when the San Francisco earthquake demolished all but two foundries in the Bay area, leaving standing only the Phoenix Iron Works in Oakland and Joshua Hendy Foundry in south San Francisco. By the time of the Depression, Southern California's most prominent older foundries—Baker Iron Works (1887-1929), Llewellyn Iron Works (1894-1929) Union Iron Works (1883-1929), and United Casting (1902-1932)—had been forced out of business. For many more foundries the end came in mid-century with the passage of anti-pollution laws in Los Angeles (1953) and San Francisco (1960) which required installation of prohibitively expensive equipment.

Over the years the task of manufacturing manhole covers has fallen to the handful of iron works that have survived twentieth-century adversities. In Northern California, the largest manufacturer is Oakland's Phoenix Iron Works, established in 1901, which distributes covers as far north as Eureka. A majority of

Southern California lids emanate from the Alhambra Foundry of Alhambra, founded in 1923,⁹ whose logo may also be seen in more northern parts of the state. Pinkerton Foundry of Lodi, organized in 1935, supplies most covers for the San Joaquin Valley area.

The California cities most rich in historic manhole covers are those which served as nineteenth-century foundry centers. Splendid deposits of old lids rest in the downtown streets of Los Angeles, Fresno, Stockton, San Francisco, Oakland, and Sacramento. Although gems appear throughout the state, these former foundry centers hold the concentration of antiquities, some seventy-five to 100 years old.

Foundries produce the heavy lid covers—heavy to endure and to deter theft—from grey iron or cast iron. Named for its color, grey iron is preferred to steel, which deteriorates without protection, and to aluminum, which is lighter but more expensive.

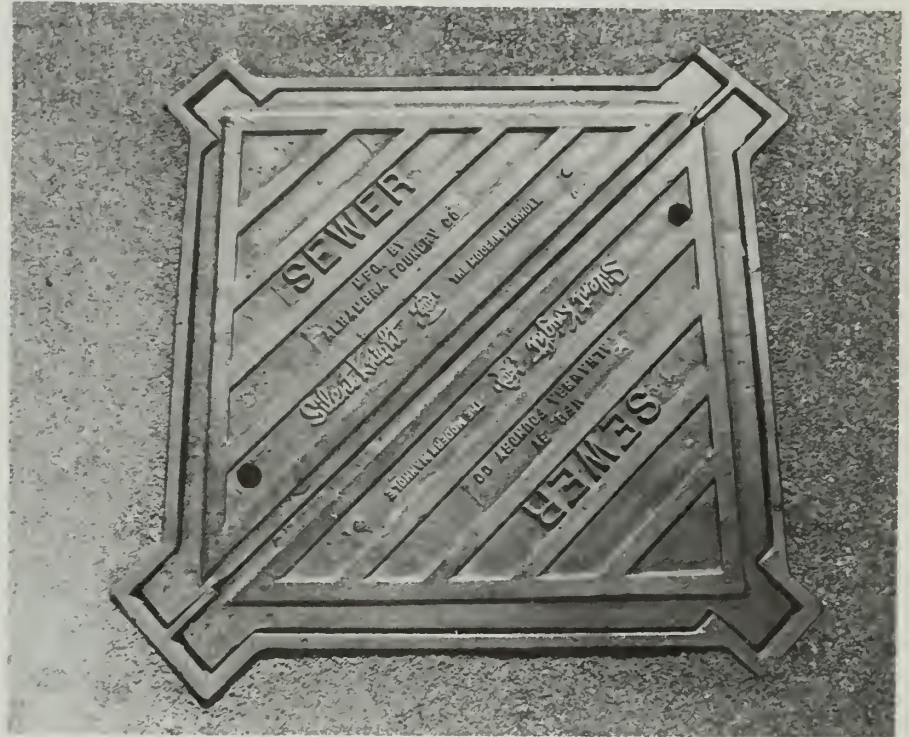
Scrap iron is the cover's main ingredient. Automobile engine blocks provide the bulk of scrap, but old manhole covers are also melted down for the new. Combined with coke, limestone, and new iron, the scrap metal is worked into a composition producing covers that machine well and enjoy a long lifespan. Covers are

sandcasted by pouring molten metal into a sand impression.

Foundries usually make their own patterns from wood, aluminum, and, in some cases, plastic. Wood molds are most popular, particularly mahogany wood because it is hard, easy to carve, and durable. Mahogany patterns receiving good care may last indefinitely.¹⁰ New patterns are expensive: small wooden ones cost \$100, larger ones \$500.

Once installed in the street, each manhole cover is held in place by a frame or ring to which it is "married." The parts are machined together for a close fit, an important

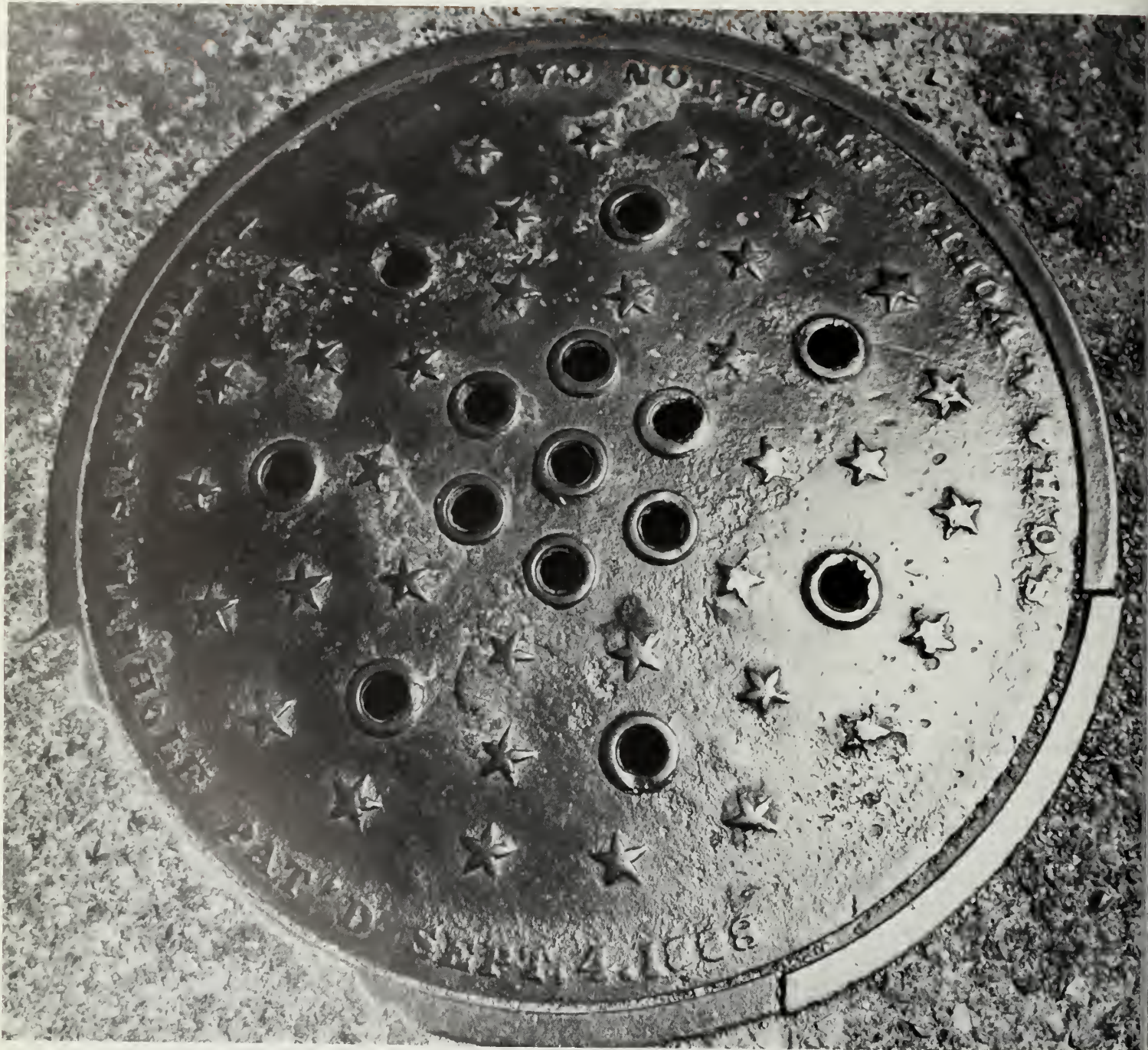
Designed in the 1950's and used nationwide, this "square" Silent Knight sewer cover consists of two triangular lids seated on corner lugs.



requirement for a noiseless, non-rocking unit. Round covers are easier to machine accurately, one reason for the popularity of that shape, and they cannot fall into the manholes.

Rings and covers are aged ninety days before bearing surfaces are finished. If rings and covers have been well-machined, they will not rock when a car wheel passes over. Utility companies, sensitive to citizens' complaints about clanking covers, may stuff rags and firehoses under the cover to act as a cushion between a rocking lid and an incompatible ring.

The average manhole cover weighs



Vented and starred, this antique Stockton lid records a patent date of 1888 for Morgan's Manhole.

between 250 and 300 pounds; the average ring weighs about the same, depending on the design and intended location. Some rings are narrow and reveal but an inch or two of plain framework at street level; others, usually the older ones, are wide enough to sport lettering and designs.

The size, shape, and weight of a lid indicate its function. The average round manhole cover must be at least 22 inches in diameter to allow passage of a man's (or woman's) body. The standard diameter is 24 to 27 inches, although they may be up to 36 inches when large equipment is to be used inside.

Smaller lids, with diameters measuring from 4 to 10 inches, are distinguished from larger covers by the name handhole covers. Some handhole covers are round, some rectangular. Used for access to valves, meter boxes, and survey monuments, handhole covers are just big enough to permit one hand to reach inside to accomplish the necessary task.

The largest covers sit over large valves and vaults containing transformers. In these cases, hinged rectangular split covers are most often used.

Inscribed in the surface pattern of the manhole or handhole cover is the name of the organization owning the lid and pertinent information regarding its function.¹¹ Whether the lid belongs to a utility company or a private concern, whether it is city,

Keyed to prevent rotation, this old manhold lid covered San Francisco Department of Electricity facilities.



Starred ring and diamonded cover make a stunning design on this vented Sacramento sidewalk cover.



county, or state property, what lies beneath it, and what foundry cast it are all recorded on the cover to the complex world beneath the streets.

A labyrinthian maze of pipes and wires runs under any busy city intersection. The intricate subsurface network of gas, telephone, telegraph, water, power, and sewer lines is frequently further complicated by obsolete utility lines, as well as traffic signals, fire-alarms and police-call boxes, storm drains, and catchbasins.

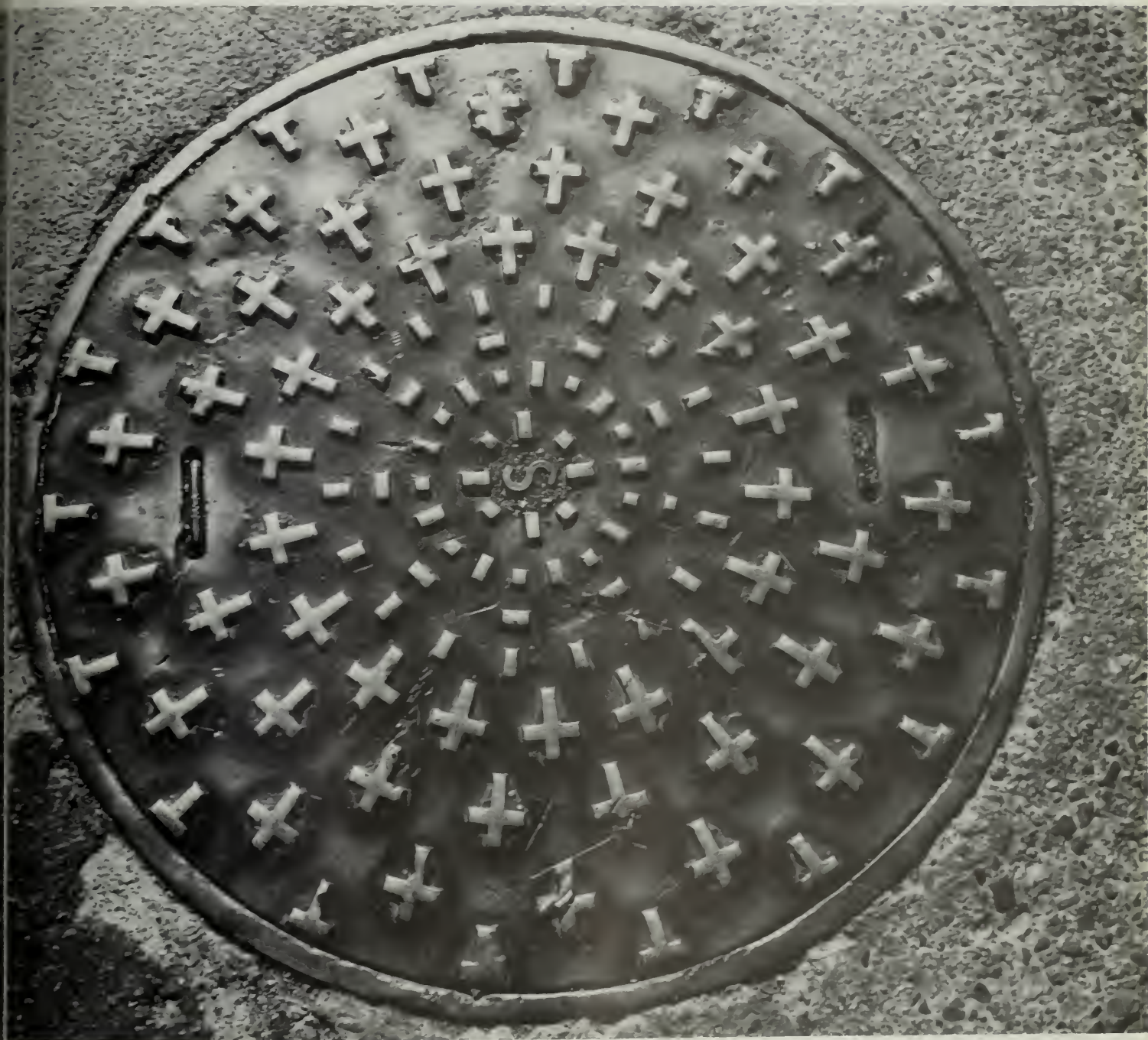
Many commercial buildings demand their own subterranean support systems. Some maintain fuel-oil tanks and coal shutes. Others need steam, which moves from a boiler through pipes via a tunnel to its destination. Some older downtown buildings required illumination for their basements and installed glass-studded lids as a source of light. In each case, a covered manhole or handhole mark the access.

Other businesses have even more

specialized needs. Tanks for printers' ink surround newspaper offices such as the Los Angeles *Times* building. Salt bins lie beside many buildings to aid in softening water. Ammonia, once used as a coolant by ice companies, formerly ran through lines beneath downtown pavements, and lids labeled with the chemical's name may still be discovered. Fill boxes for gasoline below service stations are marked with yet another kind of cover.

This rare water-meter cover is decorated with San Francisco's Golden Gate bridge rather than pure design elements. It was manufactured by the Ford Meter Box Company of Wabash, Indiana.

This old surface pattern is common on Stockton and Sacramento sewer covers. Drop-lift handles assist in removal of the cover.





Holes punched in a waffle grid allow steam to escape through this New York-manufactured cover used in Oakland.



Set in the Los Angeles streets in 1896, this gem was machined by the Union Iron Works. Replaced by a common radial-design sewer cover in 1975, it has been since lost.

Today, descent to the city's nether world is provided by steps cast in the neck of the hole or by a steel ladder. Modern manholes are made from concrete, cast in a factory, and transported in ring sections or slabs to a site where a hole has been dug.¹²

Formerly, manholes were built of brick, many by contractors of foreign birth. Each marked his manhole by leaving his signature inside. Literate men wrote their names; others left a distinctive mark such as a star or cross to identify their work.¹³

Although iron manhole covers enjoy great longevity, time, weather, traffic, and urban renewal progressively consume the older lids. As they wear, they are being replaced by standardized-design, machine-made treads which form nondescript backgrounds for logotypes. Economy dictates that surfaces be fabricated using common non-skid treads. Machine-made patterns are available in large wooden sheets, and pieces are cut from the sheet to be affixed to the surface of the cover. Such standard patterns as diamond, pebble-grain, fishplate, and honeycomb are replacing yesterday's individually-designed cover surfaces.

The aesthetic future of the manhole cover is not bright. Standardization and simplification result in unimagi-

native covers. Gone are the hand-crafted look and attention to individual design of yesterday. Dull contemporary patterns, street resurfacing, and natural deterioration of old covers are bringing the day of the unique street lid to an end.

Preservation of the old covers is a difficult undertaking. Street resurfacing and lid replacement go on constantly in a large city. By the time the preservationist arrives at a construction site, the prized lid has frequently been sold for scrap or is buried deep in a fill dump. Short of a citywide campaign to remove covers to museums¹⁴—a monumental project for even the most dedicated devotee of manhole covers—preservation can be realized only by reproduction via photography or rubbings. These methods preserve a record of what was, but provide poor substitutes for the visual pleasure invoked by direct contact with the contours, textures, and patinas of the real covers.

At present, urban archeologists who seek the remnants of California's industrial past must content themselves with private odysseys into the backstreets and alleys where they can still observe firsthand these artifacts. Manhole covers have played an aesthetic, historic, and functional role in our urban environment. As neglected industrial treasures, they are worthy of recognition and preservation.

Notes

1. The hexagonal pattern, originated in the early 1920's and used throughout the century, is now the pattern identifying the telephone companies. Western Union's current lid also employs the hexagonal design, but its cover is distinguished by an identifying logo.
2. The radial pattern has been chosen by the City of Los Angeles as the standard surface for its manhole covers. Usage is designated in the center of the lid by "S" for sewer, "W" for water, "D" for drain, or the word "Drain," "Power," etc. This design is also used by the Edison Company and a number of private concerns.
3. Leonard Metcalf and Harrison Eddy, *American Sewerage Practice* (New York, 1914), I: 554-5.
4. With regard to vents in lids, Harold Pender and William Del Mar suggested: "A ratio of 1 sq. in. of ventilating holes for every 30 sq. in. of cover is . . . adequate without weakening the cover." (New York & London, 1914), pp. 135-36. Later, A. Prescott Folwell recommended that "ventilation holes, if used, should be through the depressed parts of the cover, since by this construction the stoppage of the holes by dirt and snow and the entrance of dirt into the sewer are considerably lessened." *Sewerage* (New York & London, 1936), p. 178.
5. Metcalf & Eddy, *Sewerage Practice*, 532-3.
6. A few manhole covers in older eastern cities such as Boston have been in service in excess of 125 years, according to foundrymen interviewed by the authors.
7. For a complete study of the history of Los Angeles manhole covers, see Robert and Mimi Melnick, *The Manhole Covers of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1974).
8. Many of these foundries produced covers well into the first decades of the twentieth century.
9. Alhambra Foundry took over United Casting's patterns when that company closed its doors, a common practice in the industry.
10. Alhambra Foundry holds mahogany patterns in good condition which have undergone over 1,000 castings.
11. The State Public Utilities Commission specifies that all substructures must be identified as to ownership (General Order No. 128).
12. Sewer manholes are round and produced in ring sections; power and telephone manholes are square and produced in slabs.
13. Sewer maintenance demands some unusual manholes. To aid inspection of the interior of a sewer pipe, an access called a lamphole was occasionally provided. A light could be lowered into the sewer so that an observer stationed at a manhole on either side of the lamphole shaft could inspect the sewer interior. Access unique to outfall sewers is gained via a boat manhole, a 10' by 8' structure large enough to accommodate a special vessel lowered inside the manhole. Breathing apparatus must be supplied for the inspection. The boat is allowed to drift downstream, but remains connected by wire to a winch. These large manholes are covered with a series of rectangular plates.
14. In Los Angeles, Southern California Edison removed an antique Edison Electric Company cover (c. 1897-1909) for its company museum. The replacement lid cost the company \$100. The Los Angeles Bureau of Street Maintenance has placed a 6" square flaghole cover (c. 1925) in its archives. These actions are heartening, but rare.

Photographs are in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Melnick.

Serving West Coast Collectors: The Story of The Book Club of California

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

For well over six decades this organization has been a potent factor in the cultural life of the state by fostering the printing, publishing, and collection of interesting, well-designed books. It is one of a number of such societies throughout the country, including the Grolier Club (New York), the Caxton Club (Chicago), the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston), and the Rowfant Club (Cleveland), all of which from time to time publish limited editions of books reflecting the bibliophilic interest of their members.

The California club was founded in 1912, and the story of its origin, which was informal in the extreme, is worth recalling. During that year plans were under way in San Francisco for the Panama Pacific International Exposition, which was to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal, and a group of local book-fanciers sought out the upcoming fair's president, Charles C. Moore, and suggested that a collection of rare and important books be included among the exhibits. Moore, who was himself an ardent bibliophile, heartily approved the plan; however, he pointed out that the proposal would have more weight with the Committee on Exhibits if it came, not from a group of individuals, but from an organization. His visitors thanked him for his suggestion and left, only to return an hour or two later and resubmit their proposal, this time in the name of The Book Club of California, a name they had dreamed up over the luncheon table.

As it happened, the book exhibit at the 1915 exposition never materialized. However, the sponsors felt that local book collectors had need of such an organization, and a few weeks later the club was formally launched. Ex-Mayor Edward Robeson Taylor served as its first president, business executive W. R. K. Young as vice-president, San Francisco's long-time art patron, Albert M. Bender, became treasurer, and the secretary was the well-known local artist, Will Sparks. During its first years the little club—it claimed less than sixty charter members—had tough sledding. However, the founding group, all dedicated booklovers, gave liberally of their

Mr. Lewis—one of the West's most widely known authors, several-time recipient of the Commonwealth Club's gold medal, and CHS Fellow—guided the Book Club of California for many years. Among his best-known works are *The Big Four*, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*, *Silver Kings*, and *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis*.

time and effort, and gradually the club came to occupy the place they had envisioned for it: as an agency devoted to furthering the production and appreciation on the West Coast of worthwhile books in finely printed editions.

The initial publication—the first of more than 150 volumes to bear the club's imprint—appeared in 1914. This was Robert E. Cowan's *A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West: 1510-1906*, long an indispensable tool for collectors of Californiana. The fact that the 358-page volume was printed from hand-set type on hand-made paper in an edition of only 250 copies necessitated fixing the price at \$20—far more than most collectors in 1914 were accustomed to pay for any book. This, plus the fact that not all members recognized the book's value—one objected to being asked "to pay \$20 for a catalogue"—so slowed sales that more than a decade passed before the last copies were sold. (However, those who had dubiously paid \$20 for their copies felt better about the transaction when the catalogues of rare book dealers were presently offering copies at three or four times their original price.)

Meanwhile the club's publishing program continued. During the first ten years sixteen books were issued, the printing of which was (with one exception) by the San Francisco firms of Taylor, Nash & Taylor, John Henry Nash, Taylor & Taylor, and, after 1921, the Grabhorn Press. Later, as other qualified book printers appeared on the scene, these too were commissioned to do work for the club. Among the latter were Johnck & Seeger, the Windsor Press of the Johnson brothers, the Black Vine Press, Lawton Kennedy, Adrian Wilson, Jack Stauffacher, and Mallette Dean, all in the San Francisco area, and, in Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie and the Plantin Press of Saul and Lillian Marks. Club books are issued in limited editions (usually 400 or 450 copies) and their sale is restricted to members, who have the opportunity—but not the obligation—to purchase each title as it appears. In recent years the editions have usually sold out within a week or two of publication.

The Club's aim has always been not only to provide members with examples of the work of the Far West's foremost book printers but to choose texts that clearly merit fine editions. As might be expected of this California club, the greater number of its publications have been in the fields of western

literature or western history. Of the scores of books in each category, it is possible here to mention only a few. In the field of literature the club has published works by such early-day western authors as Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Charles Warren Stoddard, Prentice Mulford, and J. Ross Browne and, coming down to more recent times, Mary Austin, Ambrose Bierce, George Sterling, and Robinson Jeffers. Historical material has included such important works as H. M. T. Powell's *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852*, Captain F. W. Beechey's *An Account of a Visit to California . . . in 1825*, Gunner Meyers' *Journal of a Cruise to California and the Sandwich Islands* (1841), G. M. Waseurtz's *A Sojourn in California by the King's Orphan* (1842-1843), *The Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller* (1856), Neal Harlow's *Maps of San Francisco Bay . . . from 1769 to the American Occupation*, Robert H. Becker's two volumes of *diseños* of California ranchos (published in 1964 and 1969) and, as its Christmas publication for 1975, Jeanne Van Nostrand's *San Francisco, 1806-1906*, which reproduces fifty-three contemporary paintings, prints, and watercolor views of the city, most of them in the colors of the originals. Publications in 1976 included *Images of Chinatown*, by Richard Dillon, and *Valenti Angelo—Illustrator, Author, Printer*, edited by Anne Englund.

Other fields of interest to western bookmen have by no means been neglected. One aspect of the publishing program that has been warmly received by members has been the issuing of "leaf books," that is, volumes dealing with the works of eminent printers of the past, each with an original leaf from one of their books. Among such publications have been: *An Original Leaf from The Polycronicon* (William Caxton, 1482), *The Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), Aldus' *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), Wynkyn de Worde's *The Golden Legend* (1527), *The King James Bible* (1611), Benjamin Franklin's printing of *Cato's Moral Distichs* (1735) and, most recently, *Dr. Johnson and Noah Webster*, with matching leaves from the first printing of the dictionaries of these pioneer lexicographers, Johnson's in 1755 and Webster's in 1828.

During the depression years of the 1930's the club, along with most other artistic, cultural, and educational organizations, suffered severely, and in order to restore the depleted membership roll to its former limit (which then stood at 500) two new activities were launched: the *Quarterly News-Letter*

Sutter Street clubroom of San Francisco's Book Club.

(At right) Oscar Lewis reviewing rare book display at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island.



and a series of annual keepsakes. Both have proved valuable extensions of the club's service to members. The *Quarterly*, originally only eight pages but subsequently increased to twenty-four, keeps members informed of current activities, and in each number publishes one or more articles on subjects interesting to western bookmen. The keepsakes (the cost of which, like that of the *News-Letter*, is included in the annual dues) usually consists of twelve parts, each of which treats of some phase of the general subject. The nature of the subjects treated can perhaps best be made clear by citing the titles of a few typical series. Thus, "The Letters of Western Authors" appeared in 1935, "Contemporary California Short Stories" in 1937, "A Camera in the Gold Rush" in 1946, "The Vine in Early California" in 1955, "Treasures of California Collections" in 1956, "Homes of California Authors" in 1962, and, in 1972, "Cathay in El Dorado." Taken together, the thirty-nine annual series so far issued form a unique and valuable survey of California history and literature, much of it embodying information not readily available elsewhere.

With the launching of these new activities and the re-

sumption of its normal book publishing program—which had been much curtailed during the depression years—membership gradually returned to its former limit, and a waiting list was established. Since then, in order to accommodate the growing number of bookmen seeking membership, the roll has been several times increased and now stands at 950. It is probable that 950 will remain the limit, since a larger membership would, besides requiring a larger staff, lessen the value of its publications by necessitating an increase in the size of their editions, which now number 500 copies or less.

The clubrooms at 546 Sutter St., San Francisco, are open from 11 A.M. to 7 P.M. on Monday, 2 P.M.—5 P.M. Tuesdays through Friday, where frequently changed exhibits on literary, typographical, or historical subjects are on display and where information concerning membership may be obtained. At the present writing a considerable waiting list remains; hence, applicants face a delay of approximately six months before their names can be added to the roll.

The photographs are courtesy of the Book Club of California.

Book Reviews

The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans

By Roger Daniels. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1975. xi, 135 pp. \$3.25.)

Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps

By Michi Nishiura Weglyn. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1976. 351 pp. Photos, maps, drawings, documents. \$10.95.)

Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp

By Douglas W. Nelson. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin for The Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1976. ix, 183 pp. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by Edison Uno, trustee of CHS and lecturer in Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University.

If history is defined as that branch of knowledge that records and analyzes past events, it is important that history be recorded and analyzed by those who have experienced that past event.

Over the years, many books have been published about the wartime internment and treatment of 110,000 Japanese Americans who were removed from their homes on the West Coast. The success of the California Historical Society's book and traveling exhibit, *Executive Order 9066*, has contributed to our country's awareness of this shameful injustice in our history. The Society can take much credit for bringing this subject back to the nation's conscience and sustaining interest in the affair which resulted from the February 19, 1942, presidential order some thirty-five years ago.

Recently, three books have been published which begin to shed light on the long blacked-out experience. *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, by Roger Daniels; Douglas W. Nelson's master's thesis, published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, entitled *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*; and *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, by Michi Nishiura Weglyn are new titles with much new information about the dark days of World War II which resulted in the tragic loss of freedom, liberty, and justice for many American citizens.

Dr. Roger Daniels authored an earlier book, *Concentration Camps, USA: Japanese Americans and World War II*, which presents a comprehensive overview of that historic event. Currently a professor at State University of New York at Fredonia, Daniels' new title documents in greater detail the behind-the-scenes military and political decisions which ultimately put into motion the wholesale removal and incarceration of West Coast Japanese Americans. The first half of *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* explains the intricate workings of the military and political personalities involved. Frequently motivated by personal ambition, bitter prejudice, selfish opportunism, and blind obedience, they violated all of the fundamental principles which, in theory, should have protected American citizens. Professor Daniels' analysis of the mechanics of the bureaucratic decision-making powers exercised by government leaders raises questions as to how well our government can function under less than emergency situations, and it is frightening to realize that this enormous constitutional violation seems to illustrate the old saying, "There's a right way, there's a wrong way, but we'll do it the Army way." Indeed, the military did do it their way, a fact which Professor Daniels documents clearly in the second half of his book by reproducing official government documents which support his theories of military responsibility. Daniels makes it very obvious that the popular belief in evacuation from the Pacific Coast as a military necessity is and was pure propaganda.

Michi Nishiura Weglyn's book, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, presents an even stronger text. A former evacuee, Ms. Weglyn reaches deep into the files of the National Archives and private papers of former President Roosevelt and other public officials to document and research material that heretofore was not available to scholars or writers. Her study, as indicated in the subtitle, emphasizes "the untold story of America's concentration camps." For the first time, she reveals secret and classified documents which suggest that the wartime handling of Japanese in the United States and in South America comes close to being a massive conspiracy to hide, deceive, and coverup the shameful crime that history cannot deny.

Ms. Weglyn's superb research reinforces several new theories which, in this reviewer's opinion, make obsolete most of the existing books on this subject. This is not to imply that books written previously about the evacuation are worthless, of course, for many cover areas not included in *Years of Infamy*. The majority of her material, however, which has

been hidden by statutory laws until recently declassified, sheds an entirely new light on the real causes and motivations for the years of infamy and suffering caused by the government's policy of internment.

Weglyn explodes the popular myth that Japanese Americans were put into American-style concentration camps for "their own protection" from a hostile public. Rather, the United States government needed civilian prisoners-of-war which could be used in diplomatic negotiations with the enemy's prisoners-of-war: in other words, Japanese Americans were held as "barter reserve" in order to negotiate for concessions in favor of Americans held captive by the Axis powers. The reserve also had the practical possibility of being a "reprisal reserve," thereby a powerful weapon against poor treatment of Americans held by the enemy. Ironically, two-thirds of the people evacuated were American citizens by birth, and, therefore their detainment for use as a "reserve"—whether it be for barter or reprisal—made them captives of their own beloved American government.

A less sensational, but equally important, new revelation is the disclosure that prior to World War II, a special presidential request mandated Lt. Curtis Munson to investigate the status of West Coast residents of Japanese descent. The Munson Report, made before Pearl Harbor, testified that the Japanese population was not an internal security threat. In fact, it concluded that Japanese Americans were model citizens and loyal Americans who maintained strong anti-military attitudes about the Japanese government and the Emperor. In the face of this early study, a mass evacuation program was on the drawing boards soon after Pearl Harbor, and by February 19, 1942, it had become official policy. The Munson Report, obviously, was scrapped. No questions of loyalty were raised; without charges, without trial, and without guilt, Japanese Americans were evacuated with military precision. Denied was the basic American right of due process of law, a concept intended to protect the individual citizen from the tyranny of an absolute governmental power. The Japanese, as Munson reported, proved their obedience to the law by cooperating with Uncle Sam to make the removal and internment a successful and smooth military operation. And so 110,000 Japanese Americans were marched into barbed-wire enclosures replete with guard towers, military police, barracks, and the other prison-like safeguards characterizing America's concentration camps.

James Michener's introduction to *Years of Infamy* sets an angry tone which perhaps implies that author Weglyn is also

bitter and angry. As a close personal friend of Ms. Weglyn for many years, I can attest that she is neither bitter nor angry; however, she justifiably suffers the psychological scars, the anguish of self-contempt, the stigma of guilt, and the other deep-seated painful feelings which many internees feel even decades after the crime.

Years of Infamy sets a new standard of excellence for research and writing which many professional writers and researchers will find difficult to meet. For her enormous effort, Weglyn's book is highly recommended for all Americans who must share in the unique heritage of the experience of the Japanese in America.

Published under the auspices of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Douglas W. Nelson's book, *Heart Mountain: The History of an American Concentration Camp*, is another new title on the Japanese American experience. It also proves that a sensitive and compassionate perspective can be the result of careful research, not just first-hand experience. Studying Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming, Nelson captures many of the subjective feelings of the internment episode which allows the reader to understand the traumatic psychological toll that the dislocation had on many evacuees. On camp life, which has been portrayed by some as a tolerable, if not enjoyable experience, Nelson speaks frankly: "The claim of normality was simply untrue. Whatever appearances there were of a healthy, full community life were just that—appearances. At most they provided a thin veneer over a life filled with petty conflict, artificiality, and pain.

"In some cases, the War Relocation Authority consciously contrived the appearances of conventional community life in order to obscure the real character of the camp. This is certainly true of the much-publicized notion of evacuees doing worthwhile work for wages. The work in the main was a combination of drudgery and 'make-work.' . . . The 'wages' were a mockery as well: \$12 a month (about 7¢ an hour) for unskilled labor, \$16 for semi-skilled, and \$19 for professional or highly skilled work. It is not surprising that one observer found that most of the young evacuees on the Heart Mountain payroll 'act as if they were doing time.' "

Author Nelson acknowledges Roger Daniels' invaluable help while Nelson was a graduate student at the University of Wyoming. His book, the product of a master's thesis, makes a contribution to American history which will inspire future scholars, researchers, and writers to view history with the insight and sensitivity often lacking in academic objectivity.

*Imperial Russia in Frontier America:
The Changing Geography of Supply of Russian
America, 1784-1867*

By James R. Gibson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. x, 257 pp. Illustrations. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$6.00.)

Reviewed by C. Bickford O'Brien, professor emeritus of Russian history, University of California, Davis.

The study of the Russian settlement of North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continues to attract scholars who feel an urge to probe key questions more deeply and to challenge the accepted standard explanations of important decisions and events. Among the latest efforts to clarify one of these neglected issues is a new work by James Gibson. The author, a geographer, calls his book "a study in human historical geography" insofar as Russian attempts to solve the problem of food-supply generated human settlement, resource development, and regional interchange. Although the subject is placed in an historical setting and, at first glance, appears to cover much of the same ground as previous studies, such matters as government policy, administrative leadership, and international rivalry are of secondary interest to the author. Instead, he presents a refreshing view of the influence of provisionment on the evolution of the settlement. After thoroughly investigating living conditions at sixteen posts in the colonies that comprised Russian America, he concludes that the longstanding inability of the Russian American Company to provide adequate supplies for its personnel was a decisive factor in the decision to withdraw from the American hemisphere.

Gibson has apparently reached his conclusion after a prodigious study of the sources in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and the United States. While most of his insights concern the element of human historical geography, his random observations on social attitudes and international relations are also noteworthy. We learn, for example, that most Russians of the nineteenth century regarded the American settlements as more desolate than Siberia and the American, Canadian, and Mexican neighbors of the settlers as insignificant. On the larger issue of confrontation among the competing powers on the Northwest Coast, we are told that their relations were characterized more by amicable compromise than by acrimonious conflict because the stakes were probably "not high enough to warrant bloodshed."

Among the illuminating chapters of the book are those dealing with the transport of goods from Siberia to Russian America and with local agriculture in Alaska and California. The chapter on the hazardous routing of goods for "the American delivery" from Baikal and Yakutia to Sitka via Okhotsk, and on later routings from European Russia to Alaska on Russian vessels and from Boston to Alaska on Yankee vessels, assembles fascinating materials on modes of shipment, types of merchandise, and travel conditions that have largely been unknown. In the chapters on local agriculture, the trials and low yields of farming in Alaska and at Fort Ross are vividly described. In the end, and for a variety of reasons, the author shows how all Russia's efforts to overcome the problem of provisionment failed. The Russian settlements rarely had enough provisions, and undernourishment, apathy, and alcoholism became chronic problems. By the mid-nineteenth century the Company had virtually exhausted the possibilities for overcoming food shortages, and this, combined with the restrictive character of the Company and the administrative and technological backwardness of the colonizers, helped to explain the withdrawal.

This well-written book constitutes an outstanding addition to the literature on Russian America. Besides the many new insights provided in the text, some excellent maps are offered by Miklos Pinther, as are helpful drawings, tables, footnotes, a bibliography, and an index. All in all, this is a book worth owning.

William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather

By Robert W. Matson. (Stockton: University of the Pacific, 1976. Pacific Center for Western Studies Monograph No. 6. 89 pp. Illustrations, index. \$7.00.)

Reviewed by William L. Kahrl, director of research in Governor Brown's Office of Planning and Research and author of a two-part study of the Los Angeles Aqueduct published in the Spring and Summer, 1976, Quarterly.

William Mulholland would make a crackerjack subject for biography. He was the masterbuilder of the Los Angeles Aqueduct whose waterworks continued to support the metropolis he helped to build; and yet, he had no formal education or training as an engineer. He pursued his policies for

the future development of Los Angeles through nearly fifty years of political turmoil and united the fractious South Coast communities in the Metropolitan Water District; and yet, so skillful a politician never sought or held elective office. By determining to sacrifice the Owens Valley for the sake of development in the San Fernando, he fostered one of the great land grabs in California history; and yet, he never personally profited from these schemes or the great fortunes they built.

Above all else, Mulholland was a survivor. When, in the midst of his career, the water agency he headed passed from private to public control, Mulholland made himself indispensable to his new employers by fighting to keep the company's records from the city. And when he had struck his own deal to sustain his position, he helped to convince the company to sell out and then switched to stand steadfast for the principle of public water. In the years that followed, he drew unto himself all the powers of his office until he became the majestic embodiment of Los Angeles' water programs. Despite the controversies over the suffering his policies had caused in the Owens Valley, only a disaster of the magnitude of the Saint Francis Dam failure could dislodge him from power.

Unfortunately, Robert William Matson's *William Mulholland: A Forgotten Forefather* is not the book Mulholland deserves. A life of such enduring achievement demands a biographer who can tell us the whys and hows of what Mulholland did. Matson, however, has simply gathered up every Bill Mulholland anecdote his limited research revealed and clustered them into an unseemly amalgam without analysis, forethought, or even strict attention to accuracy.

All of the rough edges, the brilliance, the sheer gall of the man have been removed. Instead, Matson offers the recollections of Mulholland's associates, many of whom were writing long after his fall in an attempt to resuscitate his reputation and the credit of their careers. These have been smoothed together with the popular images Mulholland himself encouraged through the publications and promotional broadsides of his own department. The image of the man that results is overblown, literally mythic, and peculiarly antiseptic. We learn from Matson, for example, that Mulholland was gruff, sometimes imperious, but invariably beloved by his employees, an expert in the works of Shakespeare, Pope and Carlyle, a student of etymology and psychology, and an *aficionado* of the art of Rembrandt and Sarah Bernhardt. As if this weren't enough for a man without education who could seldom bear to spend many hours away from the field and

at his desk, Matson informs us that he even invented the term "caterpillar" to describe the traction engines used on the aqueduct.

Although the Caterpillar Tractor Company and the people who developed the machine in the Delta might take issue with the last of these tributes, this kind of puffery was a standard method of praising famous men of the period. It is not particularly illuminating, probably untrue, wholly unverifiable, but basically harmless. The fact that Matson has included this material, together with stories about Mulholland and ducks, jaywalkers, boulders, eggs, and pursesnatchers, illustrates, however, his guileless reliance upon a limited selection of highly dubious sources.

In addition to Mulholland's own reports and the recollections of his minions, Matson has drawn heavily upon the reminiscences of Mulholland's daughter and two aging and unpublished master's theses. One of these unpublished works is so adulatory that its author refused even to mention Mulholland's involvement in the Saint Francis Dam disaster. Matson accomplishes an almost equivalent leap of historical selectivity by refusing to treat the activities of the San Fernando land syndicate, whose profit-making schemes many saw as the basis for Mulholland's programs. As a result, the revelation of the syndicate's existence by the *Los Angeles Examiner* in 1905 is brushed off as an "amusing" but insignificant event and the continuing controversy in later years is ignored. Matson may have decided that the syndicate was not important to Mulholland, but he should at least acknowledge the existence of the charge. As it is, Matson leaves his reader wondering why the old man was controversial at all, why Teddy Roosevelt had any trouble clearing the way for construction of the aqueduct, and why Mulholland had to meet the resistance of the Owens Valley ranchers so "courageously."

Matson's treatment of the formation of the Metropolitan Water District is similarly facile, glossing over the complex maneuvers in which Mulholland's skill was most clearly displayed. As for the problem of Mulholland's responsibility for the failure of the Saint Francis Dam, Matson again turns to the testimony of Mulholland's former colleagues to raise again the vague exonerating rumors of sabotage which were never supported or taken seriously at the time and which not even Mulholland would cite publicly in his own defense.

Matson's work is derivative, and it could be dismissed as trivial if it were not so misleading. In any case, that great book on Mulholland still remains to be written.

California: The Great Exception

By Carey McWilliams. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1976. xviii, 377 pp. Paper \$4.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, author of the new *University of California Press* book entitled *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975*.

Two years ago in these pages Dave Selvin noted that "if there had been no Carey McWilliams back in the latter days of the 1930's, we would have to invent one." Selvin was referring to McWilliams' efforts as State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing and his publication of *Factories in the Field*, a timely critical analysis of California agribusiness. But many historians would argue that a more important stage of McWilliams' career came a decade later, in 1949, with publication of his *California: The Great Exception*. While the book is not without faults, it remains the best general interpretation of California history written in this century. The appearance of a new edition is thus a significant event.

In 1949 McWilliams was writing in the midst of the postwar population and economic boom. He saw profound historical continuities between the furious expansion of the Gold Rush period and the extraordinary growth of his own era. The boom of the 1940's was evidence for McWilliams that "the golden legends still flourish." "The Gold Rush is still on," he claimed, "and everything remains topsy turvey."

McWilliams, then, agreed with John Caughey that gold was the "cornerstone" of California history. But he went even further than Caughey in establishing an interpretation which utilizes the Gold Rush as the crucial determinant of much of the state's subsequent development. California's peculiar social mix, as well as the unique character of its industry, agriculture, labor relations, and politics are traced back to the Gold Rush era. McWilliams also discusses the role of California's natural environment and climate, but for him the boom set off by the discovery of gold is the major man-made cause for California's status as a "great exception" among American states—a region unto itself with a unique way of life.

The book is a prime example of "present-minded" history. McWilliams used the past to gain an understanding of the postwar period in which he lived. But such present-minded histories run the risk of becoming dated. Unlike 1949, the year 1976 is hardly a boom time in California. The state's

population now is scarcely growing as fast as that of the nation as a whole, and California is lagging behind most other states in recovering from the national recession. Increasingly, great popular support is generated for controlling rather than promoting growth, and there is a remarkable public appetite for conservation and preservation efforts. In light of this new California reality, it is not surprising that Carey McWilliams was invited to Berkeley last spring to lecture on the topic "Is California Still Exceptional?"

McWilliams answered "Yes." He contended that the state's massive size and its cultural and economic impact on the rest of the world continue to give it a unique place in the American union. But in the Berkeley lecture, McWilliams' argument was essentially ahistorical—he did not link the state's present uniqueness with its past exceptionalism.

This was not the case when he wrote *California: the Great Exception* in 1949. Then McWilliams sought and found continuities between the boom of the 1840's and that of the 1940's. In the process he illuminated much that was important about California's past, and thus his book continues to have great value today. But we still need new interpretations that provide historical insight into the economic and social reality of present-day California.

Charles C. Chapman: The Career of a Creative Californian, 1853-1944

Edited by Donald H. Pflueger. (Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1976. x, 241 pp. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by John Caughey, Emeritus Professor of American History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and co-author with LaRee Caughey of a new anthology, *Los Angeles: Biography of a City*.

From his exemplary local histories of Glendora and Covina, Donald Pflueger has moved all the way to Orange County for a comparable contribution fashioned from the manuscript autobiography of Charles C. Chapman.

Chapman's boyhood recollections are of Macomb, Illinois, and a variety of jobs: hod carrying, selling apples at the station, delivering messages for Western Union and carrying the news of Lincoln's assassination, helping his father in the building trade, and shipping apples and poultry. At seventeen

CHAPMAN'S VALENCIAS

OLD MISSION BRAND

TRADE MARK

THIS FRUIT IS
SCIENTIFICALLY GROWN
AND RIPPENED ON THE TREE
SUPERIOR QUALITY
AND UNIFORM GRADE
GROWN IN U.S.A.

GROWN & SHIPPED BY
PLACENTIA ORCHARD COMPANY
FULLERTON, CALIFORNIA
ORANGE COUNTY

OPERATED UNDER PERSONAL DIRECTION OF
CHARLES C. CHAPMAN
FOR OVER FIFTY YEARS

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

he became a salesman and interviewer for a history of McDonough County. Soon he and his brother were producing county histories (with pioneer biographies) for Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan counties. They moved to Chicago and their firm of Chapman Brothers, later Historic Record Company, published among other works, *Guinn's History of Los Angeles County* and *Armor's History of Orange County*.

His wife's illness prompted a sudden move in 1894 to Fort Worth and then, to escape the summer heat, to Southern California. They experimented at Glendora, Covina, Victorville, Redlands, and at Figueroa and Adams in Los Angeles, where in September his wife died.

As a Californian, Chapman did not reenter printing and publishing, but he continued his Chicago habit of investing in urban and agricultural real estate, hotels, business blocks, and various businesses. He was principal organizer and officer of a bank, soon sold to the Bank of Italy, not least for its name, Bank of America.

His principal and most successful venture was a ranch at the edge of Fullerton, planted to oranges and walnuts, and in smaller groves to lemons, apricots, peaches, and plums. By experiment, advice from experienced growers such as William McFadden, and by his own innovations, Chapman learned which fruits to concentrate on, how to improve the

yield, packing, and marketing. His Old Mission brand consistently brought premium prices. By growing and marketing the variety known as the Valencia Late, he established himself as a premier orange grower. On this operation his account is as informative as Charles Teague's *Fifty Years a Rancher* with its stress on the lemon and walnut industries.

With these profits, escalation of value on much of his town and country holdings, and royalties on oil produced both in town and out, he gained very considerable wealth.

When Fullerton was incorporated, Chapman saw to it that part of his ranch and the ranch home were included in the city limits. He became a councilman and then mayor. By guaranteeing that the town could get along without the license revenue, he persuaded the council to ban saloons. He was in addition a generous philanthropist, particularly through the Church of Christ and the launching and nurture of the California Christian College. This school later was given what he thought was a somewhat less apt name, Chapman College.

This book is a credit to the versatile autobiographer and to its editor.

Black Powder and Hand Steel: Miners and Machines on the Old Western Frontier

By Otis E. Young, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976. xii, 196 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Richard E. Lingenfelter, *professor of geophysics at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

This is a particularly disappointing book. A general study of the western miner and his machines has long been wanting, and it still is. Considering the richness of the ground the author has to work, it is indeed a wonder he could come up with so little. But he just picks at a few worked-out surface croppings, often careless even in distinguishing the ore from the gangue.

The chapters touch on the miner, blasting, camp amusements, silver prospects, hoisting, gold mining, the Cornish pump, and the burro, but the reach exceeds the grasp. The treatments of blasting, hoisting, and pumping, for example, concentrate more on European origins than on uses and adaptations in the western mines. The specific chapters on

gold and silver mining amount to little more than a history of the Vulture mine near Wickenburg and a biography of Tombstone-discoverer Ed Schieffelin.

The carelessness of the work is evident from the opening page where Mexican miners are dismissed as late comers to the western mines, when in fact they were the first skilled deep miners on the ground. A disturbingly narrow view of who the miners were pervades the book. There is, for example, no recognition of Chinese miners; indeed Chinese are mentioned only once, lumped together with alcoholics as "two species of comparatively helpless humanity."

There is an equally strong regional bias to the book that is well delineated in its only map, which shows nearly every place mentioned even casually. The map encompasses only the southwestern states, includes mining camps in only four states, and focuses on the country within a few hours drive of Tempe. This is further emphasized by an enigmatic black line that encircles much of Arizona. What it actually represents is hard to imagine; it is labeled "'Old Spanish Trail' Walker and Weaver Routes," as if they might be the same, but they are not, and it is neither.

The shallowness of the whole work, however, is most obvious in the book's bibliography—in the paucity of source material from which it is drawn. The most conspicuous omission for a book on western mining technology is Rodman Paul's classic *Mining Frontiers of the Far West*. Many rich lodes of primary material, such as letters, diaries, and local newspapers, are also entirely untouched. One newspaper, the *Arizona Miner*, is listed in the bibliography, but its inclusion is almost gratuitous, as only one issue is cited.

In short the work not only fails to break new ground; it doesn't even cover the known ground and is little more than a careless reworking of a handful of secondary sources, better read in themselves.

Yosemite and Its Innkeepers.

By Shirley Sargent. (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1975. 176 pp. Illustrations, source notes, index, maps. \$15.00.)

Reviewed by William F. Kimes, *John Muir consultant and bibliographer.*

It is indeed a fortunate turn of events when the most highly qualified writer is on the spot to chronicle an interesting and

Genteel outdoor living at Yosemite's Camp Curry

important sequence of history. Shirley Sargent was just the right person at the right place to chronicle *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*, a significant addition to the ever-growing library of Sierra and Yosemite books.

Miss Sargent spent much of her childhood in the Yosemite Valley where she attended grade school. Her father was a civil engineer for a construction company that built modern roads into the Valley and during the summer months the family "moved camp" to be near him. This afforded the author an early opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the remote areas of the park. Added to this experience is her residence for the past eleven years at her Flying Spur Ranch adjacent to the western boundary of the park. Her many years of association with the park and her great affection for it, combined with her keen interest in history, have provided the incentive for her to become Yosemite's outstanding historian.

It is not surprising that in 1972, Dr. Alan Coleman, then president of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, commissioned Miss Sargent to write the history of the company and gave her complete access to company records. The book is exceedingly well researched. Without telling the author's age (classified information for all members of the fair sex), she either knew the many people mentioned in the book, or was well acquainted with their friends or relatives. Through more than one hundred interviews, the author gained a wide knowledge of the scores of people who contributed to the development and direction of the company; thus, a great portion of the book comes very near to being a first person narrative.

The book begins with a résumé of the earliest pioneer efforts to offer bed and board to tourists. It was an intriguing group of individuals who were quick to see and seize a promising business opportunity; however, it was David and Jennie

Curry with their mid-western brand of hospitality based on hard work and perseverance, who surpassed and outlasted all the others. David Curry, spirited and gregarious, was the genial host that few could forget. Jennie, his indispensable partner, was quiet but efficient, and equal to any emergency. Her firm and fair management dispensed with her graciousness, endeared her to employees and guests alike, eventually earning her the affectionate title of Mother Curry. The major portion of the book is necessarily about this unusual family: their imaginative approach to their business which they preferred to call service; their triumphs and successes as well as their misfortunes and sorrows. Of the innumerable people who make up the drama of the Innkeepers, I found that the many who pass on stage so briefly with scarcely more than a mention of name, at times, tend to confuse and diminish the identity and importance of the people who were most responsible for the development of the company.

Regardless of the multitude of names, the book's lively story of this famous company, inextricably interwoven as it is with the history of the Yosemite National Park, gives a perspective of both: their vicissitudes and their achievements through storms and floods, war and peace, depression and prosperity.

The numerous photographs, many of which are previously unpublished from private collections, not only illustrate the story with aplomb and humor, but in many instances augment the text itself. *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers* can add a new dimension of understanding and appreciation for anyone's visit to Yosemite.

pletely out of any scholarly pretension that it could be reviewed as a fast-sale popularization summoning no new information or interpretations and depending mostly on photographs, probably half of which already had appeared in this reviewer's series on the history of San Diego. Textual matter is brief and, after the introduction, episodic.

Knowledgeable readers on the Spanish and Mexican periods in particular will wince at some of the hurried statements which are either in error or generalized to a point of being misleading. This was surprising since the No. 1 author, Neil Morgan, a newspaper columnist, is a precise and well-regarded writer. Among his books are *The Westward Tilt* and *The California Syndrome*. The suspicion arises that the research and writing was left to the second author, a youthful former student of music, who assists Morgan in writing a daily column of local chit-chat, and that Morgan merely loaned his name to the enterprise.

However, despite errors and youthful phraseology, such as San Diego at one point being described as in a "holding pattern" and another time as being an "awkward adolescent," this book has a place. It will introduce hundreds of new readers to fascinating glimpses of the history of San Diego and, incidentally, of California. For most of them, it may be enough. Others, however, may go on from there, their interest kindled, and even read this reviewer's books on San Diego, and, hopefully, some of the many scholarly works available on California.

Yesterday's San Diego

By Neil Morgan and Tom Blair. (Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, 1976. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Richard Pourade, writer and historian of San Diego.

The assignment to review a new book on San Diego was not accepted with enthusiasm. One of the two authors is a friend, and the subject is one with which the reviewer is most familiar and thus perhaps biased in favor of himself.

Yesterday's San Diego is the twenty-first in a series of illustrated books on American cities, presumably published in observance of the Bicentennial. But the book fell so com-

In Memoriam

GEORGE LABAN HARDING, who served CHS in many capacities, and always with distinction, was born at Indianapolis, Indiana, in 1893 and died at Berkeley on August 30, 1976, only a few weeks short of his eighty-third birthday. During his long lifetime he was active in many fields, combining a successful business career with participation in a wide variety of worthy movements and organizations, ranging from the Boy Scouts of America (of which he was for many years a member of the National Executive Board) to that of founder, curator, and prime begetter of the outstanding research library of western printing and publishing, the Edward C. Kemble Collections.

Educated at Indiana University, from which he received an A.B. degree in 1915, and at Harvard

(M.B.A., 1917), he saw service as a lieutenant, j.g., USNR, during World War I, then was for several years assistant comptroller of a ship-building firm at Tacoma. He joined the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company in 1928 and remained for thirty years, attaining the rank of secretary and treasurer, a post he held from 1946 until his retirement at the age of sixty-five in 1958.

During his stay at Harvard, a course conducted by the celebrated Boston typographer, Daniel Berkeley Updike, awakened in him a keen interest in the history of types and printing. This was an avocation which he followed with such zeal and well-directed industry as to make him a recognized authority on the early printing and printers of the West Coast. His biography of California's first printer, *Don Agustin V. Zamorano*, published in 1934, presents a well-rounded and credible



George Harding (foreground) meeting with directors of CHS in 1958

picture of this important but formerly obscure figure. His other writings in that field include *A Census of California Spanish Imprints, 1833-1839*, and, most recently, *Charles Murdock, Printer and Citizen of San Francisco*.

For years he was an assiduous collector of material documenting the history of California printing, and since his retirement the building up and cataloguing of this collection occupied a major share of his attention. The result is the already mentioned Edward C. Kemble Collections—named in honor of a pioneer California printer-editor and housed on the top floor of the Society's Library—which has become a veritable treasure-trove to students of the beginnings of California printing.

It is possible only to summarize briefly George Harding's many invaluable services to the Society. A member since 1932, he was elected to the board of directors seven years later. Always interested and innovative, he was active on various committees and in 1958 was elected president, a post he held for two terms. During his years as president, treasurer, and chairman of the finance committee he played a leading role not only in placing the Society on a firm financial footing but in acquiring the Whittier Mansion as its headquarters in 1956, and, in 1961, its handsome library building, Schubert Hall.

Moreover, he played an active role in the affairs of a number of other historical, literary, and cultural organizations. Among them were The Book Club of California, of which he was president from 1949 to 1952, two societies of book collectors, The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, and the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, and (not least) E Clampus Vitus, the modern version of the fun-loving order that flourished in the Mother Lode during gold-rush days.

He is survived by his wife Dorothy (also a long and valued friend of the Society) and a son, Henry L. Harding.

Oscar Lewis

WILLIAM KNOX BRONSON, who died in Sacramento on July 13, 1976, was a trustee of the California Historical Society, a long-time member of its publications committee, and one of that small band of writers who bring to the subject of historical California, as well as contemporary California, the full measure of insight, vigor, and devotion this discipline requires.

It is difficult, indeed, for an old friend to write dispassionately of Bill Bronson's life. Obituary notices are the meanest form of journalism. Bill was born in Oakland. He went to school in Piedmont. He ran; he wrote; he acted; and, on occasion, he misbehaved. He went to Cal, which he liked well enough, and (as a graduate student) to Stanford, which he did not like at all. He married Marilyn Moen, and they had four children—Knox, Megan, Nathan, and Benjamin. He wrote articles, reviews, books, films, and a television documentary. He edited magazines. He made innumerable friends and, I suppose, a few enemies. He would have been fifty years old this fall.

This will not do, of course. The essence is lost. The first time I encountered Bill, his black hair was shaved down to a moleskin fuzz. We were at Scout camp, and the kids who had scalped him in some juvenile ritual of exculpation called him "Chicken Head." I, too, called him "Chicken Head" for several years, until one day, when we were working together, writing a skit for a high school rally, Bill told me with unforgettable precision that those who perpetuate cruelty are worse than those who originate it, for they act out of stupidity and not compulsion.

Despite my stupidity, we remained friends and wrote many skits together—burlesques, satires, parodies. Their common attribute was double-entendre. (Those were sneaky days, before the Free Speech Movement.) Bill had a democratic spirit: his targets were snobs and hypocrites of any age, religion, sex, class, or station. He could endure cruelty and forgive stupidity, but he could



Bill Bronson in Dawson while researching his final book, *The Last Grand Adventure*

not tolerate self-righteousness. Dimly, I perceived that he had the makings of an evangelist.

When Bill was in his early twenties, he was crippled by poliomyelitis, a curse of our generation. He never walked again without leg braces and crutches. His infirmity turned him to writing. With Marilyn's constant help, he began the immense research that culminated in his dramatic pictorial history of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, *The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned*, the book that established his reputation as a popular historian. He followed it up with a short film on the same theme and another book—*Still Flying and Nailed to the Mast*—that was a poor relation of the first, yet has the distinction of being perhaps the liveliest company history ever written.

During the months that he was working on *Still Flying*, Bill was becoming alarmed by the grave threats of uncontrolled technology to the natural environment of California—air and water pollution, clear-cut logging, juggernaut freeways, the urbanization of prime agricultural lands, billboards, litter, neon-in-the-sky. He became one of the state's most articulate spokesman for the environmental movement, both as author of an important book (*How to Kill a Golden State*), and as

editor for eight years of the quarterly *Cry California*. Later, he was editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* and contributed articles on environmental concerns to national magazines, encyclopedias, and anthologies.

Bill describes himself as an environmentalist rather than a historian. ("I'm just another red-assed conservationist," he often said.) But it was a work of popular history, a pictorial essay on the Yukon goldrush, that was consuming his energy last spring when he collapsed in illness and exhaustion. The book, close to completion, is to be published next year. It is called *The Last Grand Adventure*.

Bill seldom spoke of his affliction. (What is there to say, after all, when one is crippled and always will be crippled?) But he told me once that he often dreamed that he was running.

His words stayed with me and helped me understand his flights of antic and perverse imagination, his outbursts of exasperation (even at those whom he loved best), his extravagances, and his willful dissipation of a body weakened by disease and desuetude. In my mind, I see him running now.

Richard Reinhardt

California Check List

Gary F. Kurutz, *Library Director*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Agricultural History Center, University of California, Davis. *A List of References for the History of Grapes, Wines, and Raisins in America*. Compiled by Guy J. Guttadauro. Davis: University of California, July, 1976. 77 pp. Publisher, UCD, 95616.
- Anderson, Henry P. *The Bracero Program in California*. New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$19.00. Publisher, 330 Madison Avenue, NY 10017.
- Avina, Rose H. *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California*. New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$11.00.
- Barra, Judy. *The Long Road to Tehachapi*. Tehachapi: by the author, 1976. 231 pp. Illustrations, Maps.
- Beauchamp, Jean M. (editor). *The Covered Wagon*. Selections from Earlier Issues. 1943-1950. Redding: The Shasta Historical Society, 1976. 100 pp. \$3.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 277, Redding 96001.
- California History Center. *Histories. The Spanish Heritage of Santa Clara Valley*. Cupertino: California History Center, 1976. 149 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, De Anza College, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd., Cupertino 95014.
- Caughey, John and LaRee. *Los Angeles: Biography of a City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 528 pp. Illustrations. \$14.95.
- Conkley, Edith. *Journal of Charles Enoch Huse*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Historical Society, 1976. 400 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher: P.O. Box 578, Santa Barbara 93102.
- Cook, Sherburne F. *The Conflict Between the California Indian and White Civilization*. (Reprint). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 534 pp. \$24.75.
- Cooke, Philip St. George. *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*. (Reprint). New York: Arno Press, 1976. \$18.00.
- Dash, Norman. *Yesterday's Los Angeles*. Seemann's Historic Cities Series, No. 26. Miami: E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., 1976. 208 pp. Photographs. Maps. \$12.95. Publisher: E. A. Seemann, P.O. Box K, Miami 33156.
- de Witt, Howard A. *Anti-Filipino Movements in California: A History, Bibliography, and Study Guide*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associated, 1976. 117 pp. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco 94112.
- Everson, William. *Archetype West: The Pacific Coast as a Literary Region*. Berkeley: Oyez, 1976. 181 pp. \$8.95. Publisher, Box 5134, Berkeley 94705.
- Goodman, L. Dennis (editor). *The De Anza Exploration of the East Bay*. Martinez: American Revolution Bicentennial Committee of Contra Costa County, 1976. 68 pp. Illustrations.
- Gist, Brooks D. *Empire Out of the Tules. A True Story of the San Joaquin Valley in California*. Tulare, 1976. 234 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.
- Harrington, Marie. *A Golden Spike*. Mission Hills: San Fernando Valley Historical Society, Inc., 1976. 32 pp. Publisher, 10940 Sepulveda Blvd., Mission Hills 91245.
- Hynding, Alan A. *California Historymakers*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976. 154 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95. Publisher, 2460 Kerper Blvd., Dubuque 52001.
- Historic Resources Inventory. *Contra Costa County*. Martinez: Contra Costa County Planning Department, 1976. Publisher, County Administration Building, Martinez 94553.
- Junior League of Pasadena. *The California Heritage Cookbook*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976. 424 pp. \$9.95.
- Kroeber, Thedora. *Ishi in Two Worlds*. (deluxe illustrated edition). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976. 296 pp. Illustrations. \$14.95.
- Lan, Dean. *Prestige with Limitations: Realities of the Chinese-American Elite*. San Francisco: R and E. Research Associates, 1976. 75 pp. \$8.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco 94112.
- Levene, Bruce. *Mendocino County Remembered. An Oral History*. Mendocino: The Mendocino County Historical Society, 1976. (Vol. I, A-L). 299 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 243 W. Bush Street, Fort Bragg 95437.
- Littlejohn, David. *Three California Families*.

- Berkeley: Privately printed by the author, 1976. 28 pp. Limited to 40 copies.
- Magoon, Genevieve S. *The Story of Guenoc Ranch*. Lake and Napa Counties California. Honolulu: by the author, 1976. 92 pp. Illustrations.
- Mayers, Jackson. *The San Fernando Valley*. Diamond Bar: John D. McIntyre, 1976. 310 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00. Publisher, 23733 Sunset Crossing Road, Diamond Bar 91765.
- Miller, Ronald Dean and Peggy Jean Miller. *Mines of the Mojave*. Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1976. 71 pp. Illustrations. \$2.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 406, Glendale 91209.
- Muir, John. *West of the Rocky Mountains*. Philadelphia: Running Press, 1976. 508 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.
- Nasatir, Abraham P. (editor). *Brand Book Number Four*. San Diego: The San Diego Corral of the Westerners, 1976. 186 pp. Illustrations. \$25.00.
- Nava, Julian and Bob Barger. *California. Five Centuries of Cultural Contrasts*. Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1976. 428 pp. Illustrations. Maps.
- Page, Charles Hall. *Santa Cruz Historic Building Survey*. San Francisco: Charles Hall Page & Associates, 1976. 199 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 400 Montgomery Street, San Francisco 94104.
- Page, Charles Hall. *Santa Cruz Renovation Manual*. A Homeowner's Handbook. San Francisco: Charles Hall Page & Associates, 1976. 106 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 400 Montgomery Street, San Francisco 94104.
- Parker, Barbara (editor). *Recycling History. New Lives for Old Buildings*. San Rafael: Marin Heritage, 1976. 37 pp. Illustrations.
- Peterson, Robert H. *Altadena's Golden Years. A Pictorial History of the Early Community*. Alhambra: Sinclair Printing & Litho, Inc., 1976. 98 pp. Illustrations.
- Rather, Lois. *Lovely Isadora*. Oakland: The Rather Press, 1976. 124 pp. Printer: 3200 Guido Street, Oakland 94602.
- Regnery, Dorothy F. *An Enduring Heritage. Historic Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976. 124 pp. Illustrations. \$18.95.
- Rocq, Margaret Miller (editor). *California Local History. A Bibliography and Union List of Library Holdings*. Supplement to the Second Edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976. 128 pp. \$15.00.
- Romotsky, Jerry and Sally R. *Los Angeles Barrio Calligraphy*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976. \$15.00. Publisher, 535 N. Larchmont, Los Angeles 90004.
- Rosengarten, Frederic. *Freebooters Must Die! The Life and Death of William Walker*. Wayne, Pennsylvania: Haverford House, 1976. 226 pp. Illustrations. \$9.50. Publisher, Box 408, Wayne, PA 19087.
- Salkin, John and Laurie Gordon. *Orange Crate Art. The Story of the Labels that Launched a Golden Era*. New York: Warner Books, 1976. 79 pp. Illustrations. \$6.95. Publisher, 75 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 10019.
- Scott, Ed. *San Diego County Soldier-Pioneers, 1846-1866*. San Diego: County of San Diego, 1976. 174 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95.
- Seims, Charles. *Mount Lowe. The Railway in the Clouds*. San Marino: Golden West Books, 1976. 232 pp. Illustrations. \$21.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 8136, San Marino 91108.
- Serling, Robert H. *The Only Way to Fly. The Story of Western Airlines*. New York: Doubleday, 1976. 494 pp. Illustrations. \$10.95.
- Shanks, Ralph C. and Janetta Thompson Shanks. *Lighthouses of San Francisco Bay*. San Anselmo: Costano Books, 1976. 125 pp. \$9.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 791, San Anselmo 94960.
- Siefkin, David. *The City at the End of the Rainbow. San Francisco and its Grand Hotels*. New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1976. 256 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95.
- Sillo, Terry. *Excerpts from Southern California's Architectural Heritage*. Pasadena: Gallery Productions, 1976. 111 pp. Illustrations. \$6.95. Publisher, 355 S. Los Robles 2344, Pasadena 91101.
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- Watkins, T. H. and R. R. Olmsted. *Mirror of the Dream. An Illustrated History of San Francisco*. Scrimshaw Press, 1976. Illustrations. \$30.00.
- Weber, Francis J. *California. A Bibliography of Miniature Books*. San Buenaventura: Junipero Serra Press, 1976. 49 pp. \$10.00. Dawson's Book Shop, 535 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 90004.
- Weber, Francis J. *Some California Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial*. Anaheim: California State Council Knights of Columbus, 1976. 166 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 4526, Anaheim 92803.
- White, Lonnie J. and William R. Gillespie (editors). *By Sea to San Francisco, 1849-50: The Journal of Dr. James Morison*. Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State University Press, 1976. 92 pp. \$5.95.
- Winans, A. D. *California Poets*. San Francisco: Second Coming Press, 1976. \$5.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 31249, San Francisco 94131.
- Woodbridge, Sally (editor). *Bay Area Houses*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976. 329 pp. Illustrations. \$24.95.
- Yolo County Historical Society. *Woodland House Tour, 1976*. Woodland: Booklet Series No. 5, 1976. Publisher, P.O. Box 1447, Woodland 95695.
- Young, Betty Lou and Thomas R. Young. *Rustic Canyon and the Story of the Uplifters*. Santa Monica: Casa Vieja Press, 1976. 166 pp. Illustrations. \$16.96. Publisher, P.O. Box 1316, Pacific Palisades 90272.

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An Enduring Heritage

Historic Buildings of the San Francisco Peninsula

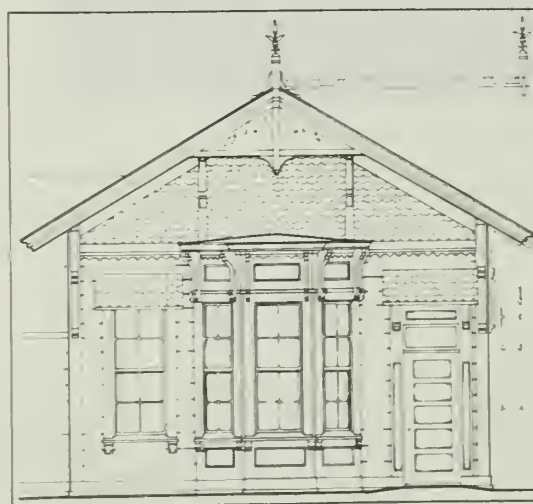
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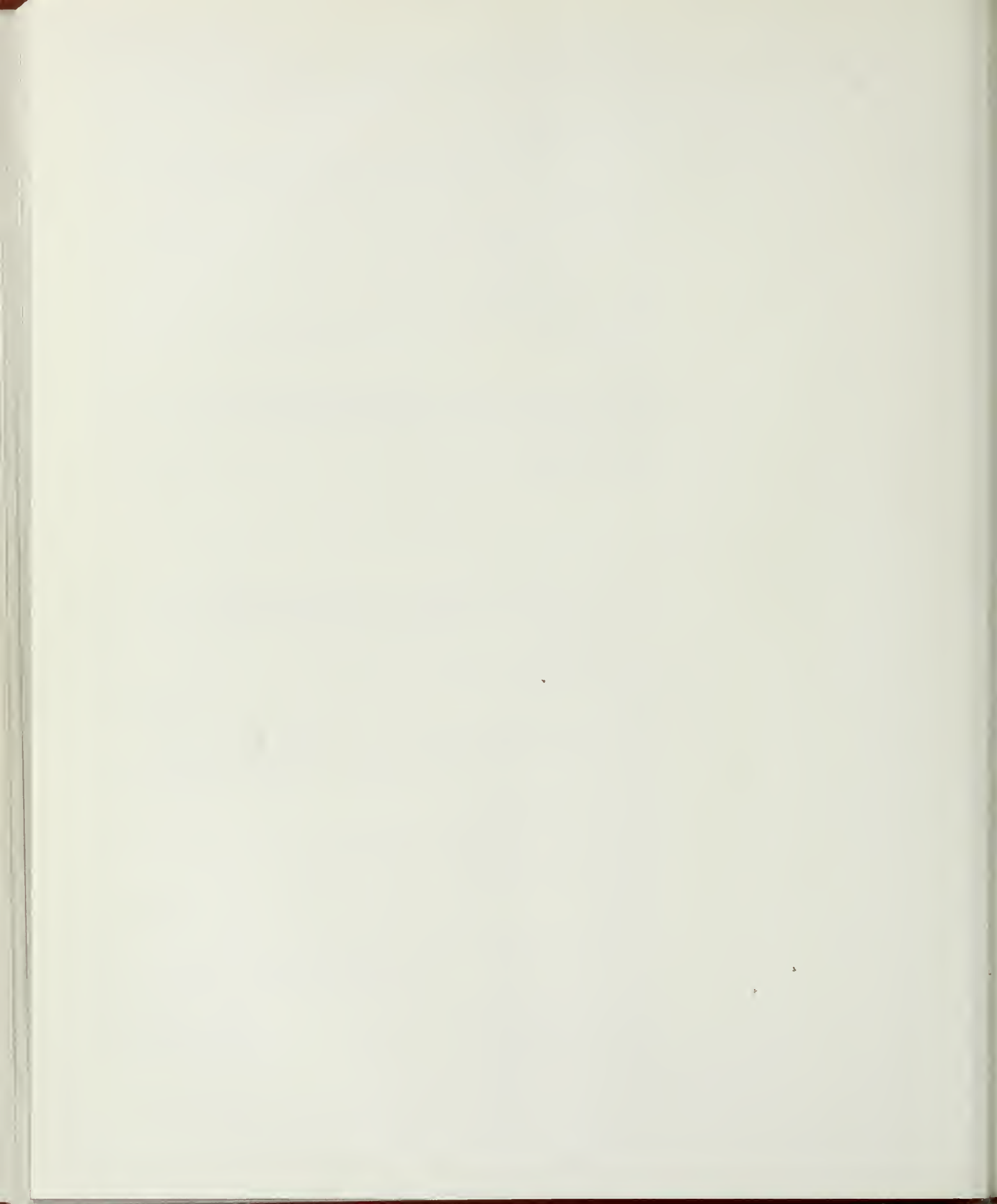
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